THE WILLKIE I KNEW by CAROL KING

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GERMANY'S FUTURE: FIVE VIEWS

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, ALBERT GUERARD, ALBERT H. SCHREINER, LUIGI STURZO, WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

SIZING UP REGISTRATION

By THE EDITORS

WHY I BECAME A COMMUNIST

A Cable from PABLO PICASSO

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT'S a rule of the contest that NM employes and their families aren't eligible for the current sub drive, in which the grand prize is inauguration weekend in Washington. But there's no regulation against any staff member's picking a favorite to win, and we've found ours.

Late Saturday afternoon, tired and a little cross, we were about to leave the office. Damn, we thought, looking out windows on both sides, it would have to be this kind of uncertain weather on the last day of registration.

About then we heard an apologetic voice with a note of relief in it saying, "Hello? I'm glad somebody was still here. Am I bothering you? I won't be a minute."

A little white-haired woman looked through our office door. "Come in," we said politely, being the only person around just then. She came, sat down, obviously tired, and produced five subscription blanks carefully filled out, and twenty-five dollars. "This is for your drive, dear," she said. "Now, you understand I just think the magazine ought to get around—" We looked up from writing her receipt. She was older than we'd thought at first—her bright red cardigan brought out the color of her eyes and her aliveness had been the first thing we noticed. "How did you do it so fast?" we asked. "All those subs."

"Well," she answered, "you see I'm not a writer, but I think the best way for people who aren't is to learn what they can from those who are." And, with pride, "I've read the MASSES for over ten years and learned from it all the time."

"How do you feel about the chance of winning a weekend?" we asked.

Came a nice twinkle and a smile. "Dear," said our Saturday afternoon visitor, "I've been to Washington twice before. Once was during the campaign for women's suffrage, and again when we went to ask Hoover for free school lunches and milk for underprivileged children. The last time I wound up in jail overnight." She added reflectively, "It wasn't a *bad* jail, no third degree, you understand."

Her name is Pauline Gitnick; she lives in our town in the west eighties. We promised not to tell how old she is. "You see, dear," she said. "If anybody finds out they'll all start being careful of my health. There's so much to do yet, especially before election. I do a lot of work for the ALP, and I don't want them fussing around about whether I'll get sick." We can say that she is more than seventy, and lives on the top floor. Nor is she stopping with the subs she brought in—she's out getting more.

They will talk about the "oldsters," will they, these Republicans out campaigning for the Albany pygmy—who, as Sinclair Lewis put it in his recent Madison Square Garden speech, considers himself the Douglas Fairbanks of politics. Our personal money, if any of you are interested, to carry the parallel but differentiate between the contests, is on Miss Gitnick for Washington. And if those of our readers who are younger than she take lessons, that is as it should be.

WE KNOW why and we do—think Frank Sinatra is pretty swell. Hearing the Voice over the radio was one thing, but the other night, even though we're well past bobby-sox, we diffidently asked NM's film critic if we could share his pass to the Paramount long enough to see the American Phenomenon. We got a disgusted grimace, but since our reviewer was covering a picture there anyhow, he said okay. Being no movie critic we will leave the flicker in question to those in charge, but we can definitely state that we like Sinatra. So do those in charge, as it later developed. In the first place, here is one (if not the only) male idol we can remember who's unspoiled enough to tell his audience that he not only had two kids, but another on the way; to which the Paramount yelled (bobby sox, GI uniforms, the Navy and all) "Good luck Frankie!"

In the second place, Sinatra did his turn, capably enough, and the encores began to pile up. He took care of those, and at the very end did a parody on "Everything Happens to Me," in which he left no doubt about his allegiance to the man who currently resides in the White House.

The last verse went something like this:

I went down to Washington, D.C.
The Republicans are mad is they can be;
What I had was lunch with Franklin D.,
EVERYTHING *happens to me.*

At that point we growled triumphantly at our escort: "I told you—after all the speeches he's made—I knew he'd get the election in." The cynic at my side gave me a look: "He *is* kind of a nice guy, at that," he admitted.

M. DE A.

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NEW MASSES

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GERMANY'S FUTURE: FIVE VIEWS

A SYMPOSIUM

THE following symposium is in response to NEW MASSES' request for comment on two articles it recently published about the settlement of Germany. The first article ("What About Germany?") by Hans Berger appeared in the issue of August 8 and the second ("Keys To A Lasting Peace") by R. Palme Dutt in the issue of August 22. The following are brief summaries of Mr. Berger's and Mr. Dutt's pieces.

Mr. Berger postulated that most of the basic reasons for the rise to power of Hitlerism were to be found in internal German developments between 1918 and 1933, but that in addition the rebirth of German imperialism was hastened by the fact that the victorious Allies of the last war favored German reactionary elements. He also contended that one of the most important factors determining the attitude of the victor powers of 1918 toward Germany was their hostility towards the newly created Soviet Union and their hope of turning defeated Germany into a gendarme against the first land of socialism. Moreover, there were differences in the camp of the victorious nations which prevented them from adopting a united policy towards Germany. Thus the main problem, as Mr. Berger sees it, is for the victorious coalition of this war to remain united and to avoid any splits in dealing with Germany. "In other words, the policy of Teheran must be carried to its logical conclusions." Mr. Berger also believes that the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the right of self-determination for all peoples will have to be applied realistically to a defeated Germany to prevent these principles from becoming a weapon in the hands of German imperialists. It was also Mr. Berger's opinion that regardless of the amount of support the United Nations find among the Germans themselves, the Allies must proceed with the disarmament of Germany; trace new boundaries with a view to international security; obtain reparations; destroy the Nazi state, army, party, and all their organizations; and eliminate those responsible for the Nazi dictatorship. German "imperialism cannot be reformed or reeducated," he wrote. "It must be beaten, exterminated, and prevented from ever arising again."

Mr. Dutt, writing from London, saw the German problem from essentially the same point of view as Mr. Berger. He wrote that there can be "no settlement which leaves the German war machine intact or capable of restoration. This carries very definite consequences for the character of the settlement with Germany, whatever the composition of the government which may succeed Hitler." Mr. Dutt warned against those who even now show more concern with the prospective fate of the fascist criminals than with the actual fate of the millions of their victims. Much of the confusion on the measures which the United Nations will be required to adopt in regard to Germany is attributable, in Mr. Dutt's opinion, to the hangovers from Versailles, i.e., the memories of old campaigns of exposure against the Versailles Treaty, which constitute the familiar background of earlier appreciation of international politics among the present dominant generation in the labor movement, especially in Britain. The situation and conditions of the Versailles Treaty are transferred to the entirely different state of affairs of today. Mr. Dutt then pointed out why the scene now was radically different from that which prevailed at the close of the last war. Among the several measures he proposes for the settlement of Germany are: the punishment of war criminals and the destruction of fascist institutions (which he observes cannot simply be left to the German people but must be carried through under United Nations control); reparations, including labor reparations; territorial changes to weaken the basis of Prussian domination in Germany and of the domination of Prussia-Germany over Europe. These Mr. Dutt believes to be the essential foundations for the completion of the victory over fascism and are the pre-conditions for world organization, reconstruction, and international collaboration.

Next week NEW MASSES will publish the opinions of Louis Nizer and Lion Feuchtwanger, along with a comment by John Stuart on the symposium as a whole.—The Editors.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Foreign Minister, Republican Spain; Editor, Political War Section, The "Nation"

I READ Mr. Dutt's article, "Keys to Lasting Peace," with great interest, and I believe with him that the "concrete conditions of the fight against fascism" are very different from those which existed during the period of Versailles, "when fascism had not yet come into existence." During the past years, I have asserted again and again that the main task of the peace is to secure the destruction of fascism all over the world. Again and again I have declared that if a single country is allowed to retain fascism whether in Europe, in Latin America, or in Asia, the peace of the world will be sabotaged and finally shattered by the very forces which started this war. If that is true of all countries, it is particularly true of Germany, which became the real battery of fascist aggression when Hitler took power.

It is from this point of view that the entire problem of future policy for Germany must be visualized, and here again I fully agree with Mr. Palme Dutt that "there can be no settlement which leaves the German war machine intact or capable of restoration." The controversy between "hard" as opposed to "soft" peace is utterly futile unless those words

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are defined in terms of actual people and measures. Some may favor a very "hard" peace for the Nazi leaders and at the same time a rather "soft" peace for the Prussian landowners, the coal barons, the industrial magnates: in one word, the great financial and business elements which were responsible for Hitler's assumption of power and for guaranteeing that power until they saw that Hitler was losing the war. But once terms are defined, every sign of opposition in Germany must be supported, as Mr. Dutt suggests. And we must always remember that in the emergence of a popular movement lies the greatest permanent hope of a Germany capable of living in peace in a progressive, socialist Europe.

That the destruction of fascism will become the chief problem of the Allies after military victory is won is demonstrated in the all too frequent contradictions which, unfortunately, are still evident in the policy of the United Nations. I am, of course, for the greatest possible unity among the three major nations—the United States, Soviet Russia, and Great Britain—and it is mathematically certain that without the most complete cooperation among them, peace will be endangered from the moment hostilities cease. But unity only as a slogan will help very little if it is not based upon a clear understanding that the survival of fascism must be prevented.

Take, for instance, the case of Spain. Never during this war has there been military justification for appeasing Franco. A different policy in regard to Spain from the one followed by Washington and London would soon have secured the full collaboration of the Spanish people, which was a hundred times more important to the Allies than Franco's good will. Any doubt about that must be dispelled by the splendid fight which the Spanish Republicans have been waging in France and which, as even General de Gaulle has testified, has contributed so greatly to the liberation of the country. Certainly, if there was no justification for the policy of appeasing Franco during the course of the war there is none now, when the war has entered its final phase. That policy has become dangerous and absurd. Certainly, the destruction of fascism will not be implemented by allowing Franco Spain and Argentina to become centers of reorganized Nazi activity after the war. The Moscow radio was quite right in denouncing the fact that all kinds of Nazi Germans have escaped to Spain and from there will escape to Argentina, if something is not done about it.

This is not a question simply of the Spanish people regaining their freedom and rights, although it is rather difficult to imagine a democratic victory which would exclude the first nation in Europe to take up arms against fascism. This is a question of peace policy; a question of exterminating the nest of fascist activity which the Spanish peninsula has become under Franco. In one word, one of the "Keys to Lasting Peace" is to remember that until fascism is utterly destroyed—everywhere—peace will be only a dream.

ALBERT GUERARD

Professor of Comparative Literature, Stanford University; author of "Europe Free and United" and other works

I AM not one of your devoted readers; but I am grateful for the opportunity of expressing my opinions before an unfamiliar public. Many thanks for sending me the two very able articles "What about Germany?" and "Keys to Lasting Peace." These matters are so complex that no man can be expected to agree in all respects with anybody, not even with himself. We are still fighting the confused battle of 1919. Everyone has been accused of sabotaging the peace: Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George (they already had the Big Three in those days), Foch, Poincare, Noske, Lenin, Henry Cabot Lodge, Herbert Hoover and Harry Elmer Barnes. A few believe that Hitler had something to do with our present trouble.

I want a peace founded neither on the secret deals of supermen, nor on sheer force, and least of all on the Nazi conception of *nationality;* I want a peace based on democratic principles: liberty and equality; I want to draw a definite line, so definite that Colonel McCormick will be found on one side, and Thomas Mann on the other. I cannot conceive of a sane world without a Europe restored to sanity; and Europe can never know peace until the German people are reintegrated, as President Roosevelt prophesied, into the European family.

An independent Germany will openly and immediately prepare for revenge. A subject Germany will work more secretly, but with no less deadly effect. It is the concept of the *nation* that must be purified. The armed nation, acknowledging no law but its own interest, is a monstrous idol which must be destroyed. Germany as a separate nation must disappear. But no vacuum can take its place. It must disappear by merging with the whole of Europe. The nation must be transcended into the Union, a Union which will take its friendly place by the side of ours, and of the Soviets'.

Walter Lippmann and many others fear that a European Union including Germany will simply be Hitler's New Order. Nothing of the kind. Within the Union, the Germans will be barely twenty percent. Their prestige, for a while, will not be of the highest. I know the French well enough to be sure that in a free association of equals, they need not fear being submerged. European Union is an ancient, a worthy, and a practical ideal. What was wrong with the dreams of Napoleon and Hitler was not Union *per se,* but Union imposed by force, under the domination of a single *Herrenvolk.*

Some fear that a European Union would be directed against Russia. There is no reason why it should be so, unless Russia chose to oppose a legitimate and inevitable trend. In the Europe of tomorrow, the prestige of Russia will be deservedly great. Europe will be a democracy realizing itself freely through a large degree of socialism. In that liberal and social democracy, the full cooperation of Communists will be welcome, as it was under Blum's *Front Populaire,* as it is in de Gaulle's Provisional Government, as we should like it to be in our own country.

If such a Union is not realized now, in a free and generous spirit; if Europe is wilfully divided, in the old Machiavellian way, into an Anglo-Saxon "sphere" and a Russian "orbit," then I dare to prophesy that Union will still be inevitable. The continent will be forged into one through the resentment of foreign dictation. But that Union born of strife will be harsher, less fraternal, than a Union born of hope. And its creation will be a humiliation for us, if we oppose it feebly and accept it grudgingly; worse, if we attempt to resist it by force.

Both in the spirit, and in fundamental economic interests, Europe is more real than "Poland" or "Germany." Europe is one; all efforts to keep it artificially divided can only lead to conflicts.

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CAN YOU FIGURE IT OUT?

GROPPER

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ALBERT H. SCHREINER

Member of the Organizing Committee of the Council for a Democratic Germany. Author of "Hitler's Air Power" and other books

MR. DUTT writes that reparations are to "be carried out not merely as a measure of justice and retribution, but in order to ensure that German reaction and the industrialists behind fascism shall not, after military defeat, continue to profit from their plunder and carry forward in new forms their economic domination over an impoverished Europe." Of course, reparations that are not measures of justice and retribution are not reparations at all. Unfortunately the harm done to the European peoples and countries by Germany's war machine can never be fully restituted. In my opinion, however, reparations mean above all restitution and justice. Besides their material significance reparations have a paramount psychological importance in regard to the relations of peoples in the future. Reparations not limited as a measure "to ensure that German reaction and the industrialists behind fascism shall not . . . continue to profit from their plunder" means in its consequences that a status of colony is foreseen for Germany. That would give a permanent basis to reactionary forces inside and outside Germany. Why not expropriate the big industrialists, bankers, and landowners who introduced fascism and were its backers? That, in addition to the political and military measures against German imperialism, will be the way to hinder German imperialism's rebirth. At the same time that would give the German people a chance to pay for the damage and crimes committed both by themselves and their ruling class. It seems to me that Mr. Dutt certainly does not have in mind that the German people, especially the working class, shall not be permitted to adjust their "vision to the new perspective of positive achievement."

Mr. Dutt also says: "Equally it is necessary that whatever territorial changes are required, not merely to cancel Hitler's annexation, but to weaken the basis of Prussian domination in Germany and of the domination of Prussian-Germany over Europe, must be carried through in the vital interests of the security and self-determination of all the peoples of Europe who have been overrun by Germany, and thereby also in the interests of the democratic and peaceful development of the German people themselves."

If what R. Palme Dutt calls the "Prussian domination in Germany" were above all a geographical problem, it would be sufficient to organize the future Germany in its pre-Hitler borders. But the problem is a geographical one only as long as the ruling class in Germany retains its economic and political position. And that is not a specific Prussian question; even Nazism did not come from Prussia. And further, the real danger of "domination of Prussia-Germany over Europe" is evident even if Germany is dismembered, as long as their ruling class remains where it always has been.

Mr. Berger poses as the main problems which will decide the future of Germany and a lasting peace: (a) the carrying out of the policy of Teheran to its logical conclusion; (b) the extermination of German imperialism and preventing its rebirth. The agreement of Teheran is a compromise between the principal powers of the capitalistic sector of the world and the socialist sector. On the duration of cooperation between these powers depends the duration of the future peace. A lasting peace is the principal aim which is in the interest of all peoples. All other problems are of secondary nature and are to be subordinated to this principal aim. From this point of view we must try to find the solution to the German question. It seems probable to me that in order to secure the dominant compromise of Teheran, the solution of the German problem can also only be a compromise in every regard.

Extermination of German imperialism means above all a fundamental change in the economic structure of Germany from capitalism to socialism, because imperialism is only a phase of capitalism. The consequences of such a change in Germany for other European countries are evident in view of Germany's key economic position, her population, and her geographical position. I believe that not all partners of the Teheran agreement would accept a change in Germany's economic structure in the sense which would exterminate German imperialism forever. Therefore, to avoid disturbing the dominant aim of the Teheran agreement we have to expect that the solution of the German problem will be a compromise, a period of transition from an extreme capitalistic system to the socialist order.

This seems to me the necessary conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Berger's article in regard to a realistic policy under present circumstances. The basic economic and political principle by which Germany will be ruled after the war, even as to her territorial integrity and the question of reparations—depends upon above all, besides the maturity of the German people, the degree of cooperation between the partners of the Teheran agreement. Accordingly as reactionary tendencies become stronger or weaker in the capitalist sector of the world, will it be determined whether Germany will be the area of development of a third world war or a tie between West and East.

LUIGI STURZO

Distinguished Italian anti-fascist; one of the founders of Italy's Christian Democratic Party

IF WE had to take stock of the general feeling on the future of Germany among the United Nations, the conclusion would be that Vansittartism is daily gaining ground and the reasonable voices are growing fainter. Nations cannot be put to death: Germany cannot be wiped off the map. It is impossible to create a vacuum in a country of 80,000,000 inhabitants without bringing down the economic and political order of the whole of Europe; nor would America escape.

Germany will have gradually to regain her morale and economic health and will have to remain one of the cornerstones of the European edifice. Our main concern is how to bring back Germany to the human and Christian sense of our civilization. The disarmament to be imposed on Germany will have to be total and effective; the industrial transformation from war to peace will have to be complete; finally, educational reform will have to be as far-reaching as possible, facilitated but never imposed from abroad, for then it would bear no fruit but would ripen reaction; on the contrary, it must be promoted from within in virtue of experience and conviction by the civil, social, and religious groups that will have to devote themselves to such a task.

This "optimistic" vision of the future Germany is founded on the principle of

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trust and on the method of *liberty*. The Moscow Conference declared that, in Italy, democracy must be restored. Mr. Cordell Hull has stated that the lines traced for Italy shall be applied to other nations also. The same will have to be said of Germany, unless Europe is to be cast back into chaos.

No one can think of establishing for Germany a dictatorial, or military, or capitalistic regime. A monarchy? A Hohenzollern to be sought among the many descendants of Wilhelm II? It would be absurd to imagine that Moscow wants such a neighbor. There remains only well-constructed democracy that will not fall into the hands of the Junkers or the nationalists or the crypto-Nazis or the makers of guns, tanks, and aircraft.

It is proposed by some to divide Germany into various zones. Mr. Hambro, the well known Norwegian foreign minister, has warned the American public against such a mistake. There is no need to divide up Germany in order to keep her in her place.

Hatred and anger against the Germans are immense. If we appeal to Christian sentiments, it is not against the interest of the future peace, but on the contrary these interests themselves call for the spiritual vision of Christianity. If there are modern pagans who wish to hear no more of Christianity in the education of a people, these have been precisely the Nazis, who have drawn the ultimate consequences of their theories.

German atrocities call for a justice for criminals; but not a revenge against the German people. If we have a revenge by the vanquisher we will have, sooner or later, a revenge by vanquished and so on. The real peace, when it will be ripe, has one meaning: the reconciliation of the peoples already enemies with the establishment of a new order!

As I can see the new order, it will be at the same time a moral, political, and economic order or it will not be an order: it must be based on real democracy and friendship of all peoples. The working classes (the German working classes, too) will be and must be the greatest factor of such a peace and such an order, in domestic as well as international fields.

"How do you spell Uebermensch?"

WM. J. SCHIEFFELIN

Member of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy

IN CONSIDERING the causes and effects of Teutonic degeneracy and the possible cure and redemption of the German people, we Americans feel fierce anger and at the same time, deep humility: we realize we are not free from the sins of race prejudice, pride of possessions or selfish grasping for domination. Yet the vengeance of God works through human agencies and we should do our part, while conscious that the decision belongs to those nearer to Germany who have suffered so grievously and whose future depends so vitally upon the character, motives, and behavior of the 70,000,000 vigorous people in the center of Europe. Their cardinal sins are pride and hypocrisy, which must be rooted out: when they learn this truth they can earn their freedom. This time the Germans will suffer the penalties of their atrocities and bitter repentance will prepare them to walk humbly and strive for the respect of mankind.

Let us try to discuss this without being dogmatic or judgmatic, avoiding self-sufficiency and hoping that good will may prevail. Both of the articles by R. Palme Dutt and Hans Berger give a reasonable diagnosis of the causes of Nazi domination, but they do not give enough weight to the awful effects of race pride, unrestrained lust, and murderous cruelty: nor do they present adequate means for the redemption of the German people, which can only come after repentance brought about by just punishment.

After the murderers are executed, the racketeers imprisoned, and the big businessmen shorn of their power, should not the Junker land be taken, to belong to the people? The working people in Germany who stupidly yielded to the anti-Jewish and anti-Bolshevist propaganda will turn against their oppressors and eventually establish a people's government perhaps patterned on the Russian Soviets. Might it not be a good thing to have a number of free states? Would not people in Bavaria rejoice in being emancipated from Prussian tyranny? There is not much hope for the Prussian mentality, but the rest of the Germans have a capacity for cultural and spiritual achievement which can

(*Continued on page 27*)

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WOLVERINE: HEAD AND TAIL

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

IT WAS on the eve of the Republican national convention that a rotund little man arose in the House and delivered an impassioned address on intolerance. It was shortly after "Dewey's Man Jaeckle"—Edwin F. Jaeckle, New York State Republican chairman—refused to endorse Rep. Joseph Mruk of Buffalo because of his nationality and religion. "No, Mr. Dewey," said the orator, "the American people will never accept a leadership which so narrowly construes Americanism as to infer that Polish ancestry and Catholicism make a person an undesirable." The man who spoke, George G. Sadowski of Michigan, was himself an American of Polish ancestry, and a Catholic. He is a Democrat from Michigan's first district, which includes some of the most highly industrialized areas of Detroit, and is ninety-five percent a labor district.

Sadowski, Louis C. Rabaut, a lawyer from the Grosse Pointe Park area, and John D. Dingell of Detroit, all Democrats, are the brights spots of the Michigan congressional delegation, which includes some of the worst examples of Republican obstructionism—George A. Dondero, Clare Hoffman, Roy O. Woodruff, John B. Bennett, Fred Bradley, Fred L. Crawford, Bartel J. Jonkman, Jesse P. Wolcott, Paul W. Shafer, and Earl Michener. Of the three, Sadowski is more colorful than Rabaut and Dingell. He likes a fight, which does not mean he's not a careful organizer and strategist.

Sure of reelection—in 1942 he carried his district almost four to one, 48,000 votes against 13,000—he is worried about registration throughout the state. October 18 was Michigan's last day to register. "There are 100,000 new war workers in Dondero's district, the same in Wolcott's," he said. He feared the unions were not working vigorously enough to register them.

The Political Action Department, United Automobile Workers-CIO, directed by Richard T. Frankensteen, has issued a mimeographed pamphlet on Dondero as he reveals himself in the *Congressional Record*. It says of him: "When it comes to labor, Mr. Dondero is definitely ranged against it and follows the line of his isolationist brothers faithfully. He uses Communism as a smoke-screen behind which to attack labor. . . . It is interesting to note the build-up Mr. Dondero gives Henry Ford, whom he credits with heroic stature. The subversive press likes Mr. Dondero and thinks his words important enough to quote. He has written at least five articles for Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. This publication admires Mr. Dondero and calls him a 'capable gentleman.' "

It was Sadowski who last June arranged a luncheon in the Speaker's dining room for Pres. R. J. Thomas of the UAW, to which he invited some 250 Congressmen, "all those who weren't so awfully reactionary," Dutch treat. Did almost fifty show up? "Oh, hell," he said proudly, "150 came. They kept calling roll calls—I think Hoffman was responsible for that—and so the Congressmen would have to keep filing back to the House, but every time they came back to the dining room they brought others with them. The luncheon lasted until five o'clock. The roll calls didn't hurt but swelled the attendance."

Before he came to Congress Sadowski was a lawyer and a real estate man. He is, moreover, a genuine product of his district. His voting record is almost perfect, although his constituents have been critical of his attitude on rent control. He still has real estate interests and owns a golf course, where his customers are largely shop CIO leagues.

He tells, with his usual frankness, and rather ruefully, a story about the one time he really offended his constituents. It was during the UAW's big organizing drive several years ago. The sitdown strikes made him revert to being a lawyer (he graduated from the law school at the University of Detroit in 1924, shortly after his twenty-first birthday). Because these unorthodox strikes riled his legal sensibilities he voted wrong, and the next session of Congress, the 76th, saw Mr. Sadowski's cheerful full-moon countenance missing. Replacing him was the mayor of Hamtramck, Tenerowicz. This was a sad venture for the UAW, though. The mayor-turned-Congressman proceeded to support the Dies committee "and became isolationist as the devil," according to the articulate Mr. Sadowski. The 77th session saw the ruddy Mr. Sadowski in his old place.

The Congressman recounts with an air of nostalgia how he became the only Democrat in the Michigan state senate in sixteen years. He thinks there was one in the House at the time. Sadowski had been a Socialist in high school in Detroit, but in 1928 he became a Democrat and came out for Al Smith. "I ran in '28 for state senator and damn near made it then," he said. "I lost by 210 votes. And I really wasn't running very seriously. I got married that year, and I wasn't thinking too much about politics." I looked up at the portraits of his four children, the two girls in confirmation dresses, on the walls. "Well, when the Republican state senator was killed in an auto wreck, I ran again at a special election in 1931, and made it. Up to then there had been no Democratic organization in the state. It was up to me to start it. Roscoe Huston, now our postmaster, and I joined forces and began organizing. I became county chairman on clubs and organizations. In less than a year, I had seventy-five clubs in Wayne county, where there had been not a one before. Then we formed a congressional organization based on districts, each district cut up into fifteen or twenty divisions, with fifteen precincts in each division. We got an organization to ring doorbells and get out literature and it's still functioning."

Sadowski is honorary president of the Michigan Slav Congress. He cites this as proof that his attitude on the Soviet Union can't be that of John Lesinski (Mich., D.), a real anti-Sovieteer. He is certain that his district will vote overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. In 1940 Wayne county, which includes Detroit, voted 451,000 for Roosevelt, 275,000 for Willkie; and Roosevelt lost Michigan by 7,000. He cites a poll conducted by the Detroit *News* indicating only thirty-four percent of the voters in Detroit for Dewey, sixty-six for FDR.

TWICE I stopped in Clare Hoffman's office before Congress adjourned to ask him to discuss what he thought were the issues of the campaign. He is being opposed by Bernard T. Foley, a Benton Harbor educator, and former director of Americanism of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Michigan. The first time he gave me the brushoff on the plea he was too busy. The second time he asked querulously, "What

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do you want? What are you trying to get at?" He said he didn't know what he was going to campaign about until he got back home. The PAC was fighting him, but he didn't know what they or Foley were saying about him. (PAC and Foley weren't fighting hard enough though.) Early in the summer it appeared there was a good chance to beat Hoffman, but the PAC was slow in getting into action, and Bernard Foley didn't campaign very vigorously. So Hoffman had nothing to say.

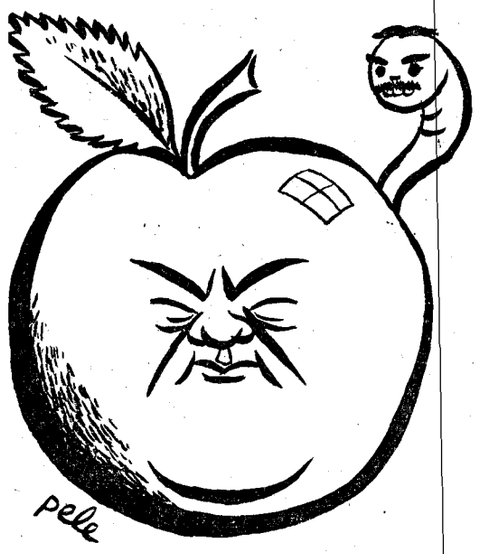
I asked him if by any chance he had been charged during the campaign with being an accomplice of the twenty-six defendants in the Nazi plot trial.

This seemed to irritate Mr. Hoffman unreasonably, in view of all the sympathetic statements he has made in their behalf. (He has called the trial a "conspiracy against Congress.") He said no such charge had been made that he knew of, and that besides, it was "a political trial." This is the line of the defense attorneys, who now have asked for a mistrial because President Roosevelt alluded to the Silver Shirts in one of his speeches. He alluded to the Nazis, too, and that might prejudice the jurors' minds, too, I'd think.

The last time I saw Hoffman before I went to work for NEW MASSES we had had a very pleasant time reminiscing, the while he called in his secretary to pare his nails. In this intimate setting, while she trimmed away and filled in dates for him—she has been with him for years—the homespun Mr. Hoffman and I recalled the occasion of another meeting some ten years earlier.

This was certainly long before Hoffman, with his eyes on that left-hand column on page one of the Chicago *Tribune*, where he so often appears, had made those frequent speeches in Congress which appealed also to the convicted Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck. Viereck "purchased great quantities of Hoffman's speeches," according to the magazine *Ammunition*, "and, with Hoffman's congressional frank, mailed them all over the United States." It was long before Hoffman called for impeachment of President Roosevelt, or as Walter Winchell revealed last January 16, a "march on Washington," advocating "the use of the armed forces if necessary" to end "the horseplay" there.

Hoffman was strictly bush-league then. Instead of defending accused sedi-



tionists in speeches, he was defending the nudist, Fred Ring, in a court in Allegan, Mich. In spite of Lawyer Hoffman, the little dancing master and nudist camp entrepreneur was convicted by an outraged jury, but Mr. Hoffman had had a taste of page one publicity in Chicago newspapers. For a Family Man (on the walls of his office in Washington hang pictures of his family group, including children and grandchildren) this was pretty heady stuff.

There is a UAW local in Allegan, but Hoffman's district is predominantly one of farmers. Apples and grapes are grown in abundance, and the annual blossom festivals of Benton Harbor, with beauty queens and parades and pictures in the Chicago papers, are a high spot in the year's events. The *Tribune* dominates the region, which it counts as part of "Chicagoland." And in the columns of the *Tribune* Clare Hoffman is a hero, not a knave. There is no question, too, that Hoffman's homespun appearance, his unruly gray hair, his slightly nasal country voice, his care in answering correspondence, and in pursuing complaints of constituents, are great vote-getters. He likes to fish and to talk fishing, and when he goes home he often advertizes he will be at a certain place between certain hours, and people pour in to tell him their troubles.

Nevertheless, according to *Voice for Victory*, organ of the Political Action Committee in the fourth district, numerous Republican leaders are opposing him. Editor Paul Mixter, of the South Haven *Daily Tribune*, a Republican, demanded in an editorial: "Mr. Hoffman, the arch-isolationist, must go! . . . better to have a Democrat than a representative of such temperament."

Under the heading "Catholic Hater," *Voice for Victory* reprints a remark of Hoffman's which he later had stricken from the *Congressional Record*. Interrupting Representative Rabaut, who was speaking in defense of the OWI and the President, Hoffman said, "The gentleman is a Roman Catholic; why doesn't he quit the Pope and follow Roosevelt?"

The paper lists eighteen defense measures Hoffman voted against, beginning with the Naval Expansion bill of 1938, and including the Naval appropriation act for 1940, lend-lease (1941), ship seizures, arming of merchant ships, creation of Women's Army Corps, the Fulbright resolution for postwar cooperation between nations, reciprocal trade agreements and relief and rehabilitation for liberated countries.

But Hoffman's record of votes against the 97,703 farmers in his district (1940 figures), is equally interesting. The *Congressional Record* reveals he voted *against* AAA, appropriations for Rural Electrification, and farm parity payments, in 1938; continuing Commodity Credit Corp., 1939; two motions to provide funds for aiding farm tenants, and an appropriation for agricultural extension work, 1940; added funds for Soil Conservation, war crop incentive payments, crop insurance, 1943. His labor record is well known, but it includes voting against the Wage-Hour Law, and voting for the deportation of Harry Bridges, for the Hobbs so-called anti-racketeering bill and the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill. He is a consistent supporter of the Dies committee.

Hoffman's remarks in the House form an interesting parallel to propaganda beamed into this country by the Nazi radio. Dec. 2, 1943, he said: ". . . the President of the United States is campaigning for the presidency of the United States of the World." Berlin, on Dec. 13, 1943, said: "Roosevelt . . . wants to create a world league of nations, of which he can be the President."

Hoffman, Oct. 30, 1941, said: "Think of . . . the men who must die; think of the human wrecks. . . . Think of the young men of America who will be rotting in their graves. . . ." Berlin, Dec. 19-25, 1941, said: "Young American sailors, marines, and soldiers" would return "maimed and wounded, or will be carried in black-draped coffins. . . ." Berlin, Jan. 1-8, 1942: "be sure to thank Roosevelt. . . . This is Roosevelt's private war. . . ." Hoffman, Jan. 27, 1942: "The commander-in-chief of course got us into this thing."

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THE WILLKIE I KNEW

By CAROL KING

Mrs. King was associated with Wendell Willkie as attorney of record in the appeal before the Supreme Court of the case of William Schneiderman, California Communist leader, whose citizenship had been revoked by the lower courts because of his political beliefs. The Supreme Court in an opinion by Justice Frank Murphy reversed the action of the lower courts.

WILLKIE dead. It is unbelievable, as if the light had suddenly gone out of the sun. His handshake was so warm, his laugh so full of fun; he had been so very much alive and loved living. His death was a great personal loss to me. Even now it is hard to write of him. But I found in the few days after the public learned of his death how personal that loss was not only to me but to people who had just met him, or seen him, or even to those who only knew there was a Willkie, a great democratic American with a love for humanity and for the principles in which he believed.

The first time I saw him was after he had read the record and brief for *certiorari* in the Schneiderman case. He wanted to discuss whether he would take over the case now that it was in the Supreme Court. His gloomy outer office, with its wooden panels and hexagonal shape, more like a church than a law office, had depressed and scared me. His smile and his handshake put me instantly at ease.

Later on I learned from him how he came to represent Schneiderman: "I thought you might be interested in the facts about my acceptance of the case. Your original letter came with the brief attached. I put it on the side of my desk as one of the things I wanted to read. It was about a week before I got around to reading the brief. I read it on a Saturday morning. I re-read it. After that, I could not with my beliefs have remained satisfied with myself if I refused to accept the case if two conditions were true—(1) that Schneiderman was a decent fellow personally, and (2) that the record sustained the brief. That was the reason for my making inquiries about Schneiderman and asking you to send me the record."

After we started to work, I came to Mr. Willkie's office with a draft of what I thought might become a Supreme Court brief. Willkie was gentle but firm. He didn't want to be a "shirt front." The brief had to be completely his, a part of his very being, his own expression of the political injustice he had agreed to combat. But he did not regard himself as above criticism or suggestion. "Don't pull your punches," he would say and mean. Willkie didn't want to be treated as some superior being to whom others had to toady. He treated everyone as an equal, and I had a feeling that was what made the success of his world flight. I can see him in Moscow telling a ditch digger or Joseph Stalin not to pull his punches. And I'm sure he gave both the feeling not only of being on equal terms with them but of being genuinely interested in what they had to say. An example in point occurred during the lunch recess in the Supreme Court. When we went to the cafeteria, I suggested that Willkie sit down at the table and I would bring him lunch. In refusing the offer, he said, "I guess if everyone else can handle a tray, I can."

Willkie had an informal and not too neat manner of working. He generally leaned back in his desk chair with his feet on the desk. Only at our very first conference had he managed to keep his feet on the floor. I would probably never have noticed that his shoes were rarely shined except for the fact that they were always in the immediate foreground. When he was busy, he would go right on talking as he ate a ham sandwich and swallowed coffee out of a container from the corner drug store. He liked to mark the things on which he was working himself. He would say, "I can follow my own tracks." He came to the argument in the Supreme Court with a much tracked-up record, a sheaf of quotations and a page of notes scrawled in pencil. There wasn't much on the sheet either. He obviously talked from the heart and not from his notes on the piece of paper.

SOME time before the argument Schneiderman came east and met his attorney. This was shortly after Pearl Harbor, and both were preoccupied and talked about the war. They liked each other as human beings. Willkie explained intellect" in Schneiderman's situation to his client that no boy with a "lively could have been anything but curious about the world of economics. When Willkie was at college he had organized a Socialist Club. He told this to the Supreme Court later. Throughout the case, Willkie maintained the attitude that what Schneiderman had done was normal and to be expected, that he was a better than average citizen because study and speculation had brought him to the conclusion that social change was necessary.

Willkie was hardly rested from his global trip when he argued the Schneiderman case. Two days before, he buried himself at the Carlton Hotel in Washington with a large slice of his law library, an assistant from his office, and his secretary. He knew what he wanted to say. The process of preparation was one of working out ways and means. For example: he asked me, "Where is Romanoff, Russia?" (Schneiderman's birthplace). None of us knew the answer, but he must have found it. The next day he opened the argument by saying, "Mr. Schneiderman was born near Stalingrad, in 1905."

Mr. Willkie handled the Scheiderman argument as the important political question that it was. He ignored technicalities, or left them to his brief. To quote the New York *Herald Tribune* the next morning, "Willkie concluded with an argument as forceful as any he ever made on a campaign platform." Members of the Supreme Court Bar who packed the courtroom looked surprised at such directness, but the marble pillars did not tremble before the breath of life to which they were exposed.

He met questions put to him by the judges with enthusiasm. Mr. Justice Murphy asked how the Schneiderman case happened to be started. Willkie replied with a trace of embarrassment, "I don't like to go outside the record, but it was in 1939." Justice Murphy looked puzzled. "And Mr. Schneiderman was born in Russia." The atmosphere at the time of the Soviet-German pact was pictured in those cryptic phrases.

He drew another historical picture—the picture of Europe in 1848, when Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto. Willkie's forefathers came to this country then. Repressions in Europe, he said, accounted for some of the finest strains that came here to make the great

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melting pot that is America. He relied on his wide knowledge of history and political philosophy. He recognized the Communist Manifesto as a dignified historical document and the foundation of the economic interpretation of history. Thus it ceased to be the collection of disconnected sentences advocating violence relied upon by government counsel.

From the second inaugural address of Lincoln, "the founder of my party, the Republican Party," he read: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." Next he read these words: "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. . . . The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." "That," he said, "is from Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the party of many of you gentlemen—the Democratic Party." The founders of the three parties, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and the Communist Party, Mr. Willkie concluded, all advocated violence in the struggle against oppressive reaction where other methods were not possible, and "the mildest of the three by far was Karl Marx."

By his simple question, "Am I to be held responsible for everything Ham Fish says?" he showed the absurdity of imputing to Schneiderman whatever appeared in print under the name of any Communist. As he sat down, I had the notion that Mr. Willkie never enjoyed an argument more and had never argued a case he thought more important.

After the Schneiderman victory, he came over to my office to celebrate —with champagne out of a paper cup. One of my associates, far to the left of Willkie politically, remarked after he had gone, "It seems strange for *me* to feel so deep an admiration for the titular head of the Republican Party."

I didn't expect to see Willkie after that. But I was a representative of his great public, with whom he always had time "to have a chat," as he put it. I saw Willkie's disappointment in the results of the Wisconsin primaries. He had made the issue clear, internationalism against isolationism. After that defeat, he gave up the personal fight for the Republican nomination, but not the fight for his principles. Between 1940 and 1944 he had grown from a partisan politician to a statesman. His views of a Republican platform were published in the press. "I was not really invited to the Republican national convention," he told me later. "I could, of course, have gotten in, but not as a delegate. So I stayed home."

After the convention, I wrote to him commending his articles about the Republican platform, and went on to say: "Unless you figure on backing up the little prosecuting attorney completely, I think there will come a day in the campaign when you should have them reprinted in pamphlet form."

I thought he might resent my characterization of Mr. Dewey. Instead, I received a letter of thanks, in which he said: "I appreciate your judgment very much" and added that his publishers were interested in reprinting the articles. He concluded with his usual invitation to drop in for a chat.

The Dewey campaign was already under way. Willkie was outraged at who was managing it—he outlined the tie-up between James S. Kemper, chairman of the Republican finance committee, and the McCormick interests. I didn't ask why he told me these things, but I as-

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Why I Became a Communist

By Pablo Picasso

Three weeks ago Pablo Picasso joined the French Communist Party. Though it electrified the world of culture it was not surprising news. In France's struggle for freedom, her Communists have played a mammoth part in alliance with the resistance movement as a whole. And an artist with such magnificent eyes as Picasso's could see for himself who it was that best defended the cultural values of our time. Picasso lived in Paris throughout the Nazi occupation. The Germans tried to win him, but at the risk of his life he defied them. The cable below sent specially to NEW MASSES *tells in Picasso's own words why he joined the French Communist Party.*

Paris (by cable)

MY JOINING the Communist Party is a logical step in my life, my work and gives them their meaning. Through design and color, I have tried to penetrate deeper into a knowledge of the world and of men so that this knowledge might free us. In my own way I have always said what I considered most true, most just and best and, therefore, most beautiful. But during the oppression and the insurrection I felt that that was not enough, that I had to fight not only with painting but with my whole being. Previously, out of a sort of "innocence," I had not understood this.

I have become a Communist because our party strives more than any other to know and to build the world, to make men clearer thinkers, more free and more happy. I have become a Communist because the Communists are the bravest in France, in the Soviet Union, as they are in my own country, Spain. I have never felt more free, more complete than since I joined. While I wait for the time when Spain can take me back again, the French Communist Party is a fatherland for me. In it I find again all my friends—the great scientists Paul Langevin and Frederick Joliot-Curie, the great writers Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard, and so many of the beautiful faces of the insurgents of Paris. I am again among my brothers.

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I GIVE YOU MY WORD . . . by JOSEPH NORTH

WHAT WILL WILLKIE'S FOLLOWERS DO?

SOME time ago, while in the rich "black soil" belt of southern Illinois, I talked with a canny farmer who said cryptically, when I invited his political views: "I am a Willkie Republican." I am thinking of that farmer today and wondering what that farmer is thinking. "We're not afraid of new ideas down here," he said emphatically, fulminating against those of his older neighbors, the "fogies," who cling to the Chicago *Tribune*. He summed up his views with the tart "Willkie will make a better Roosevelt than Roosevelt." What is he thinking today, with the crops in, the granaries full, and Willkie dead?

YES, Wendell Willkie has returned to the soil of Indiana and his name is now a memory. The people mourn as though one of their own had died. But the issues which he championed are not interred with the man, they march across the country and nobody knows that better than Governor Dewey and Herbert Brownell and Herbert Hoover. This trinity have wiped dry their crocodile tears, hugging the satisfaction that they need no longer contend with the thundering presence of the Indianan. But the Hoosier voice speaks from the grave and they hear it as well as my friend the farmer. And some three to five million Willkie Republicans, as the estimates have it, are listening. Thinking.

No, they couldn't travel from the inland states to attend the rites for their leader, nor had they the power to announce, as did Herbert Brownell: "Out of respect to a great party leader, I have ordered all offices of the Republican National Committee closed during Mr. Willkie's funeral." I can see my friend the farmer scanning that announcement with the same appraising eye that encounters rust on the wheat. I can hear him comment dryly: "So they honor him by closing the doors when he's dead: why—they'd closed those doors on him when he was alive." For the Willkie Republicans are, I believe, a thinking lot. Theirs is a concern over issues: the flaming questions which sear all, regardless of party.

WILLKIE's honors were nonpartisan; they grew out of the national concern which the vast majority of our people felt he represented. *One World* sold fabulously; its message of international kinship clicked with America. Its concern for the submerged millions of the world jibed with the will of the people; it outlined the only kind of relationship to avoid World War III. And America knew Willkie as a big man, a growing man. His mind was not imprisoned by the mouldy walls of prejudice: his belief that America could march toward its destiny along the roads of private enterprise did not blind him to the views of any legitimate minority. The man who had, as a college boy, fought for the right that Karl Marx be taught in the University of Indiana, did not shrink from association with Communists as a worthy component of national unity. (Several months before his death Willkie spent two hours talking with Earl Browder.)

He championed Communist William Schneiderman's right to citizenship and he knew the full implications of his fight, as Carol King tells so movingly elsewhere in this issue. He could only recoil in scorn at Goebbels' stock-in-trade.

The New York *Herald Tribune*, struck with a brief moment of clarity in its current season of frenzied partisanship wrote, upon Willkie's death: "His program was national, rather than partisan." Further along in its fulsome commentary it said, regarding Willkie and Roosevelt: "It almost seemed at times that the two political opponents were not so far apart after all." With these observations the editors suffered relapse. On succeeding pages of the same issue, they sang hoarse hosannahs to their candidate Dewey for expressions which would make the Hoosier writhe in his grave. Several days later, however, Walter Lippmann, their columnist, said some things which occasion plenty of food for thought.

Describing Dewey as a "sincere convert" from his views in 1940, Lippmann wondered if the Republican standard bearer would have "the strength of his new convictions," deprived of the "valuable" services of Willkie who would "remind, exhort, and compel the new administration not to backslide." Dewey's "convictions," Lippmann felt, "have not been strengthened and tempered by knowledge and experience." The man "is not sure of himself," therefore he lacks "the feeling that he really knows what to do. . . ." Mr. Lippmann reveals the deep disquiet of his circles at the implications of a Dewey victory. Would not those about Dewey, whom Lippmann charitably sketches as "a know-nothing and do-nothing opposition in his own councils" be very likely to "overbear" him? "For Wendell Willkie was the conscience of his party, and who will take his place?"

While we may differ with Mr. Lippmann's estimate of Dewey's sincere conversion, we can only agree that the principles Mr. Willkie espoused would be "overborne." They already have been. For we believe that Dewey in his campaign speeches has cast the irrevocable die: he has identified himself totally with those who would do the "overbearing."

Any wonder Lippmann concludes: "Thus the death of Willkie will make much more difficult Governor Dewey's problem of gaining confidence of the independent vote—the vote which puts the winning of the war and of the peace ahead of everything else, which regards an uninterrupted and unfaltering conduct of these great affairs as a matter of life and death."

I BELIEVE Mr. Lippmann has struck upon reality here: and I am sure my Illinois farmer would agree. I would only add this: that the interests of the independent vote merge with the vote for Roosevelt whose record proves uncontestably that he stands "for the winning of the war and of the peace ahead of everything else." Yes, it seems to me that many who for partisan reasons have backed Dewey's candidacy today shrink from the implications of their can-

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LIBERALS AND THE LEGION

By ROBERT THOMPSON

Mr. Thompson, a former staff sergeant in the US Army, was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for valor in the Burma fighting. He subsequently was given a medical discharge. He is now co-chairman of American Youth for Democracy.

A LONG time ago some writer of military manuals realized that if a formation marching down a road in step arrived at a shaky bridge and crossed it in step, it might collapse under the impact. To meet this situation the command "break step" was originated. While the command has little practical application it is wonderful to observe the precision and thoroughness with which the men in a well-disciplined formation can get out of step when the order is given. Only a disciplined and well organized outfit can do a good job of "breaking step." Whatever good and bad things can be said about American liberals no one in his right mind would ever charge them with being disciplined or well organized. It is therefore a doubly wondrous thing for a person who has a little military knowledge and is not a liberal to observe the remarkably good and thorough job some American liberals do of "breaking step" with political reality on various issues from time to time. Their lack of discipline and organization doesn't seem to hinder them at all.

The veteran's field provides a current example of the proficiency of some liberals at "breaking step with reality." It seems, unfortunately, that a number have taken advantage of the "freedom" which lack of responsibility provides in order to adopt a super-duper "leftist" attitude towards the American Legion. From this point of view an article by Lucille Milner in the September 18 *New Republic* entitled "How American Is the Legion?" is quite interesting; in a sense one could even call it classical. The article not only succeeds in presenting an evaluation of the Legion which is out of step with the facts, it also reveals in a very "pure" form how the difficult maneuver of "breaking step with reality" is accomplished. It is really very simple. Only two steps are required.

First: The years of this war are relegated to a position of no greater importance than any of the other twenty-odd years of Legion existence. This done, one can substitute a rehash of Legion activities during the twenties and thirties for a serious analysis of the Legion's role during this war and label it an evaluation of the Legion of the year 1944. The essence of this step seems to be a mastery of the art of standing still while life moves forward.

Second: Legion policy is dissected—i.e., separated into various disconnected parts. This accomplished, one can then select those parts of current Legion policy which substantiate an evaluation of the Legion made ten or fifteen years ago and, by laboring those parts, prove beyond reasonable doubt that "what was will always be." (The reactionary press, of course, with very different subjective motives, used a similar technique in reporting the annual convention of the Legion in Chicago last month. Deriving no comfort from the major features of Legion policy as adopted at this convention it seized on certain secondary aspects of that policy, in particular the continued backward attitude of the Legion toward aliens; and by inflating this question out of all proportion succeeded in giving its readers a false and distorted picture of the convention.)

The essence of this second step seems to consist of avoiding any attempt to analyze the over-all character of present Legion policy; a steering clear of the Legion stand on the decisive issues of the day which determine the character of that over-all policy; and a blithe lack of interest in the major question: "In what direction is the Legion moving in relation to the basic issues and forces in American life?"

"The Shoe," by Helen West Heller.

The truly unfortunate part about the "holier than thou" attitude of liberals of Lucille Milner's persuasion towards the Legion is that there is little sound justification for it. In the main it is a hangover of the past, a concoction of old prejudices that haven't been unlearned and new facts that haven't been assimilated. The organized labor movement and the organized veterans' movement, including of necessity the American Legion, are beginning to find the wide area of basic agreement on the key issues confronting our country which exists between them. As fraternal collaboration is strengthened and extended between these two great movements the policies of each will increasingly respond to and be influenced by the policies of the other. Few developments hold brighter promise for the future than this.

A SOMEWHAT similar area of agreement exists between American liberals and organized veterans' movements, including the Legion. If Lucille Milner and her friends can find that area of agreement they will certainly contribute something to the unity and strength of the democratic forces in this crucial period. Perhaps then they will even become a positive factor in contributing to the overcoming of certain inadequacies and inconsistencies of Legion policy. Perhaps then they will even find it possible to learn from various aspects of Legion policy, for many liberals would be better democrats were they to rise to the level of Legion policy on a number of questions.

For example, an editorial in the same issue of the *New Republic* that carried Lucille Milner's evaluation of the Legion observes that "Candidate Dewey has made his first bombing raid over the administration's positions, with the Philadelphia speech on domestic affairs and the Louisville speech on foreign affairs." And here and there in the issue one comes across a recognition of the fact that such "bombing raids" on our government pose a grave threat to the nation.

On September 20 the Legion from its annual convention issued the following ringing declaration to the country: "We reaffirm our faith in the foreign policy of our government. . . . The consummation of the policies and prin-

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ciples declared at the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences should command the united support of all Americans." It would seem that any liberal worth his salt should be able here to find a certain area of agreement with the Legion.

Another editorial in the same issue of the *New Republic* poses the question: "What is happening to Henry Luce?" It goes on to deal with the infamous Bullitt article, the attacks on PAC, etc., that are featured on *Life's* pages, and draws the conclusion that Mr. Luce "seems to be lending himself to just the campaign for which Hitler has been hoping—a campaign to split the Allies in the hour of victory and thus help the Nazis to escape retribution." The Legion has something to say on the subject of such a campaign. Its report on foreign policy includes such statements as:

"The American Legion insists upon unconditional surrender by Germany and Japan. Only by complete and devastating defeat of these militaristic aggressor nations can any peace be worth its untold cost in blood and treasure."

"We repeat our declaration of 1942 that 'no peace, however welcome, however promising, can long endure unless it be made secure by the nations which have won it.'"

"Since the people of every nation are responsible for their rulers, we must not forget that Hitler was overwhelmingly voted into power and kept there by the German people themselves."

"After subjugation, Germany and Japan must thereafter be occupied and controlled in such a manner and to such an extent as to bring home to the German and Japanese peoples—and to the fanatical despotic leaders whom they have followed with such blind enthusiasm—a full realization of the folly and consequences of their ways."

There would seem here to be a wide and basic area of agreement between liberals and the Legion. Perhaps on the matter of a firm rejection of any sort of "soft peace" for Germany and Japan some liberals might even be able to learn from Legion policy.

A RESOLUTION on universal compulsory service was adopted at the Legion's twenty-sixth annual convention in Chicago which reads in part: "Resolved, that the American Legion request the Congress to immediately enact legislation embodying the principle of universal military training, incorporating therein: (1) That every qualified young male American shall receive the advantage of twelve months of required military training, integrated with his academic education, and at an age least apt to disrupt his normal educational and business life; (2) That for a reasonable period after his training he shall serve in a component as provided for in the National Defense Act of 1920, and prescribed by the Naval Department policy." It has been announced that one of the major activities of the Legion during the coming year will be advocacy of this legislation. In bringing the need for the establishment of universal compulsory military service forcibly before the country in this way the Legion is performing a notable national service. If the great goals of our national policy as formulated at Teheran are to be achieved this policy must have at its service a maximum of military strength.

Unfortunately compulsory military service has to date not received much support from liberal circles. The influence of a pacifist outlook towards military training still pervades some liberal groups. It is to be hoped that liberal opinion in America will rise to the level of Legion policy on this matter and that advocacy of legislation for compulsory military training will become another area of agreement between liberals and the Legion.

Helen Maris

Among its other achievements the Legion sponsored and was largely responsible for securing the passage through Congress of "The Servicemen's Aid Act of 1944" (GI Bill of Rights). This measure, based on proposals made by President Roosevelt in various messages to Congress, is one of the most constructive war and peace measures yet enacted by Congress. The labor movement, and to their credit, American liberals, fully supported the Legion in its efforts to secure the bill's enactment. In the coming months and years much effort will have to be directed toward securing the type of administration for this measure which will most fully benefit the veterans and the nation. Surely Lucille Milner and her friends will find it possible to work closely with the Legion to this end.

The American Legion is, of course, far from being a "pure" organization. It has a long way to go on such matters as full recognition of the role played in our national life by organized labor; championing of full equality in the armed forces and in civilian life for Negro servicemen; recognition of the fact that Communists are an indispensable part of any national unity, and dropping of alien-baiting. These inadequacies in its policy certainly lessen the constructive role of the Legion. It is good that liberals should recognize this, but it is unfortunate when some of them permit this to blind them to the fact that the Legion has to its credit many substantial achievements in the field of veterans' welfare and that in its main features Legion policy renders powerful support to the forces of national unity.

The great role which the American Legion will most certainly play in the future life of our country will be largely determined by the speed with which artificial barriers now separating the Legion from other democratic forces are broken down, and by the rapidity with which the 250,000 veterans of this war who are already members of the Legion, together with the millions more who will join them, are integrated into its ranks and leadership.

It is very much to be hoped that Lucille Milner and other liberals of like mind will change their attitude towards the Legion in such a manner as to bring that attitude "into step" with the political realities of the year 1944.

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THE OAKS OF PEACE

By JOHN STUART

THERE are not many international documents as rich and as profitable to read as the one which emerged from the Dumbarton Oaks conference. For the technician who studies peace structures it brings its own special rewards. The careful formulations are not of a rigid blueprint character. They are designed with the excellent sense that the future must be orderly but that it will also be one of transitions to many unforseeable developments. The element of change, therefore, dominates its architecture. But towering above the mechanism itself is the elementary idea now beginning to possess the peace-loving, democratic world. And that is the idea of unity of nations in the common cause of peace. The point seems so simple, so unnecessary to stress—but there are grave-markings from the Far East to the European battlefields attesting to how hard it has been to reach.

In the midst of battle we are securing the fruits of victory, paving the way to continued collaboration with our allies. Tentative though it is until final ratification, the detailed outline of the United Nations peace organization rests on the principle that the grand alliance is not a passing phenomenon dictated by accident. It rests on the higher plane—something entirely new despite memories of the old League of Nations—that the coalition which will win the war is the coalition that can guarantee peace. There are those, of course, like Dorothy Thompson, who are so fascinated by the flyspecks on the window that they cannot see through it to the future that is being shaped. And one of those spots is the issue of sovereignty. They dwell upon it, they talk about it as though it were some metaphysical mumbo-jumbo without any relation to the war or the peace. Yet what was achieved at Dumbarton Oaks was the preservation of sovereignty —another word for the independence of nations—by pooling many sovereignties to safeguard each sovereign nation. Wendell Willkie, whose keen perception of the problems of organizing peace called down upon him the wrath of the midget minds in his party, put the issue succinctly: "I think that the use of our sovereignty to create an effective instrument of peace is the best way of protecting our sovereignty."

Not only is Dumbarton Oaks the promise of an enduring coalition for peace, it is in itself a brilliant example of how forward-looking men can learn from a backward glance. In almost every particular that made the League of Nations weak, the new plan is startlingly different. The changes, of course, mirror the changed relationships throughout the world, and central to those changes is the fact that the most powerful of the capitalist states are in close friendship with the USSR. With that as a point of anchorage, the whole plan unfolds. Under it it is no longer possible for small countries to use the veto power they had in the League to obstruct prompt action against aggressors who had them under their fists. The new plan is flexible and can deal promptly not only with actual cases of aggression but with threats that may become breaches of the peace. Responsibility for enforcing order lies within the Security Council, whereas in the League it was everybody's business and no one's responsibility. The League's powers to enforce its actions were extremely limited, but in the United Nations plan member states are obliged to furnish the Security Council with forces and facilities to support the measures it decides to take after a majority Council vote in which the permanent members—Great Britain, the United States, the USSR, France and China—are in unanimous agreement. For the rock bottom fact is that if these five cannot unite to preserve the peace then no organization can preserve it.

This lists but a few of the essential differences between the new peace structure and that of the League. There are others—notably the provisions which make available national airforce contingents for peace enforcement, establish a military staff committee and fresh means of enforcing economic and diplomatic sanctions. And among the plan's major distinctive merits is its provision for a special council "with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations."

To be sure there are gaps in the tentative plan, especially over the issue of a unanimous vote of the Big Five in the event of a dispute involving one of them. This has been blown up in several newspapers beyond any legitimate proportions so that it would seem that nothing was achieved at Dumbarton Oaks. Yet it is a relatively simple problem. Either the principle of unanimity of the major powers is abandoned when one of them is a party to a dispute, or the principle is retained at all cost—considering the tragic consequences of divisions in the League of Nations. If unanimity is not observed then the Council is no longer a united body because a leading power is forced to act independently of it. This is the beginning of backstairs politics and of maneuvers threatening the stability of the peace. Furthermore, if the largest objective is to create the process of continuous agreement among the leaders of the United Nations—and peace is impossible without their continuous agreement—then common sense dictates that they all participate in deciding every question that comes before them. Exception to this rule is the beginning of its breakdown and the prelude to the wrangling that leads to the battlefield.

AMERICAN participation in the Dumbarton Oaks meeting represents another mammoth reversal of American policy from the damaging isolation of the Republican twenties. The new policy is not yet, however, an irrevocable one, strongly fixed and indestructible. The administration under the President would obviously wish it were so; the majority of the country would wish it were so. But for all their battles to make the world one and the peace secure, there are the termites concentrated in the Republican leadership who will chew at the peace structure until they bring it down. Naturally Mr. Dewey is supremely cautious in what he says, for an open attack on international collaboration will lose him many votes. And it was therefore not at all surprising to find him greeting the Dumbarton Oaks plans with muffled praise. It was a sweet little statement, properly sugar-coated and evasive of the central issues that must be resolved before the peace security plan can be a practical reality for the United States. That question is: will it be necessary for the American delegates on the Security Council repeatedly to ask Congress for permission before they can move to bring American support to punish actual or

(*Continued on page* 21)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

SIZING UP THE REGISTRATION

By THE EDITORS

WITH the election less than three weeks off, a new factor has thrust its way into the picture: the unexpectedly large registration in many parts of the country. It had been predicted that the "apathy" revealed in the 1942 election and in the recent state primaries would be continued in the presidential balloting and this, together with the virtual disfranchisement of large numbers of servicemen and war migrants, would mean a sharp decline from the nearly 50,000,000 who voted in 1940. It must be said that the Republican strategists, acting on the theory that a small vote would favor Dewey, have done their best to make this prediction come true. For, as Thomas L. Stokes admitted in the pro-Dewey Scripps-Howard press on October 13, "it is no secret that Republicans privately have been hoping for a small vote all over the country." And they have not contented themselves with hoping. They have soft-pedaled the registration campaign and in at least one major city, New York, they engaged in obstructionist tactics in the polling places in an effort to cut down the number registered.

The large turnout in important cities throughout the country is a heartening demonstration that the American voters are not indifferent to the issues involved. In city after city registration this year is higher than in 1940, even without counting the soldier vote. This is true of Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Cleveland (in fact, every important Ohio city except Cincinnati and Canton has exceeded the 1940 figure), San Francisco, Oakland, Cal., Seattle, Portland, Ore., Baltimore, Milwaukee, St. Louis County, Mo., Newark, Allegheny County (which includes Pittsburgh), and Bridgeport, Conn. In Philadelphia registration is slightly under the 1940 figure. In New York City the addition of soldier ballot applications to the number of civilians registered lifts the figure substantially above that of 1940.

For these excellent results, testimony to the vitality of the democratic process, credit should go to President Roosevelt, whose powerful appeal for registration in his October 5 radio speech stirred millions of voters, to Chairman Robert E. Hannegan and his co-workers of the Democratic National Committee, to some (not all) of the state and local organizations of the Democratic Party, and to various nonpartisan groups—the CIO Political Action Committee, AFL unions, the American Labor Party, the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt, the Nonpartisan Association for Franchise Education, headed by Henry J. Kaiser, all of whom did yeoman work in bringing the citizens to the registration places.

In estimating the results, however, a word of caution is in order. It would be a mistake to assume that automatically and in all cases a high registration will redound to the President's advantage on election day. The Republicans also worked hard to register their supporters once the campaign got under way. In New York, for example, the best showing in civilian registration in comparison with 1940 was in the borough of Queens, the only borough which the Republicans carried four years ago. It will take a great deal of hard work to win on November 7.

DURING the height of the registration campaign Governor Dewey made two speeches, one at Wheeling, W. Va., on October 7 in reply to the President's October 5 broadcast, and the other the next day at the Pulaski Day parade in New York. At Wheeling the Hoover-Hearst candidate continued the fraudulent Red bogey propaganda which he had begun at Oklahoma City after FDR, by his address to the Teamsters Union, had forced him to abandon his New Deal pose. What shall be said of the integrity of a man who aspires to the highest office of the land and deliberately spreads false information concerning the nation's war effort? Take Dewey's statement that "The federal government now owns or operates one-fifth of the manufacturing plants of this country." There is here concealed not one lie but at least four. The federal government does not own or operate one out of every five industrial plants. It owns in dollar value about one-fifth of the manufacturing capacity of the country. Second, this ownership is almost entirely a product of wartime necessity; private enterprise would not or could not build the new plants and buy the facilities required for our greatly expanded war production. Third, the vast majority of these government owned plants are operated privately for private profit. Finally, the administration has set up machinery and Congress has recently passed legislation for the disposal of this property to private business as soon as it is no longer needed for war purposes.

In this speech Dewey also parroted the anti-Semitic "clear it with Sidney" clamor. Other Republican respectables such as Clare Boothe Luce are also pitching their campaigns to that gutter level. It is shocking, however, to find a pro-Roosevelt newspaper echoing these scurrilities. Shocking—though not surprising when the newspaper happens to be the New York *Post*, unofficial organ of the little clique of malcontents and professional Soviet-baiters heading the so-called Liberal Party. In an editorial in its October 12 issue entitled "Clear Yourself, Sidney," the *Post* demands that Hillman bow to the GOP smear-bund by repudiating the American Labor Party, which has been doing such splendid work in behalf of FDR's re-election, and joining the fanatical Red-hunters of the Liberal Party. This editorial, which supports the Republican effort to make Communism an issue in the election, is worth thousands of dollars to the GOP.

In his Pulaski Day speech the GOP standard-bearer confirmed Earl Browder's charge that Dewey's anti-Communism is not merely an internal question, but is directed at the whole structure of friendship and collaboration with our principal allies. In this talk Dewey disclosed his real foreign policy—a reality which he seeks to cover up in his formal pronouncements on foreign affairs. Recklessly seeking to make partisan capital out of the delicate Soviet-Polish situation, irrespective of the damage to our own country's interests, the Republican candidate expressed his support for the

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claims made by Jan Ignace Paderewski in a speech twenty-five years ago. In that speech Paderewski, then president of Poland, praised the Polish army for having seized sections of the Soviet Ukraine east of the Curzon line in a war of aggression against the new Soviet republic. Need Dewey say any more to demonstrate that his election would be disastrous to the building of stable, peaceful, and prosperous international relationships?

Aid to Italy

ITALIAN-AMERICANS could celebrate this Columbus Day with the full knowledge that the US was determined to help Italy in the terrible hardships she is suffering. At a dinner of the Italian-American Labor Council, Att'y Gen. Francis Biddle made it clear that it was the settled policy of the Roosevelt administration to "bring the provisions of the Atlantic Charter to bear upon Italy's problems," that that policy had been established over two years ago, and that it had been reaffirmed at the Quebec conference four weeks ago. By wire they heard President Roosevelt himself promise that when the American Army in Italy had achieved its military mission "the Italian people will be free to work out their own destiny, under a government of their own choosing." Mr. Roosevelt announced that the mails had been opened for letters to the liberated provinces, that arrangements had been made for individuals to send funds directly to friends and relatives in Italy, that shipments of food and clothing had already been delivered and that every effort was being made to aid the Italian people directly and to help them help themselves. These forthright declarations followed appropriation of $50,000,000 to be administered by United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration, and arrangements for the Bonomi government to obtain US dollars for use in foreign exchange and other direct measures to speed the reorganization of Italy's economic life. It was in recognition of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts in behalf of the Italian people that the Italian-American Labor Council gave him their Four Freedoms Award.

The record of the Roosevelt administration from its initial recognition of Italy as a co-belligerent of the United Nations after the overthrow of Mussolini gives the lie to the belief that the Republican machines are trying to spread among Italian-American citizens that the Roosevelt administration is responsible for the very real sufferings of their native land. The truth is otherwise. Recovery from such deep-going political disease as Italy has suffered could not be painless with the best of help. But the Dewey partisans have offered less than nothing in this direction and support a foreign policy whose ultimate aim is to preserve the very evils which Italy is so earnestly trying to shake off.

"AN OFFICIAL German broadcast on July 28, 1942," says Irving Richter, legislative representative of the UAW-CIO, "accused Roosevelt of placing in power 'his own little clique . . . the Morgenthaus, Frankfurters, Baruchs'—mentioning only Jewish names. Shafer, Hoffman, Dondero, Springer, Woodruff, Bradley, all Republican Congressmen," Richter observes, alluding to five Michigan Congressmen and one of Indiana, Springer, "have used this exact phrase," including the three names. . . . Dewey restrains himself to the safer "a little group of rulers who meet together in priate conferences."

PAUL SHAFER of Michigan, one of the most reactionary of an extremely reactionary delegation (saving Dingell, Rabaut, and Sadowski, Democrats), is being opposed by Charles Hampton, Democrat of Battle Creek, former teacher of history and government in Michigan high schools.

SEEN dining at the National Press Club in Washington recently were Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers - CIO vice president, Eddie Levinson, editor of the UAW paper, James Wechsler, head of PM's Washington Bureau, and a pretty good Red-baiter himself, and a girl reporter on PM. Efforts are being made to get Levinson on PM. Pres. R. J. Thomas of the UAW is said to be decidedly peeved with Levinson.

AN OPA employe departing for another job was given quite a send-off recently by fellow members of the staff who have survived the period of the inflationary gap theory, the reign of Lou Maxon, and a long series of various types of ceilings none of which stayed put very well. At the same time the grizzled OPA veterans believed strongly in price control and even more strongly in the reelection of FDR, as was indicated by their parting gift to the employe. This was an imitation OPA news release containing a picture of Dewey and under it this one line: "The Office of Price Administration today lowered the price of hemp."

Wages in the Balance

THE failure of the War Labor Board to reach a decision on the modification of the pre-war Little Steel formula is not only an injustice to labor but tends to make a political football of this issue. Labor members have denounced the board for its dereliction of duty and for timidity unworthy of men charged with serious war responsibility. They might have added that these men are aware that living costs have risen no less than twenty-five percent since the Little Steel formula was adopted. There are signs that the four public members may yet join the labor members in an indirect recommendation to the President to modify the wage formula. However, the best guarantee of overcoming the timidity of the public board members and achieving the upward revision of the Little Steel formula lies in the election of Roosevelt and Truman together with a progressive Congress.

The public board members insist they do not differ in purpose but rather in method with the labor members. Nevertheless their approval of the board conclusion that they are insufficiently informed on the possible effects of modification on the price structure illustrates that they are still influenced by the false economic theory that rises in wages inevitably result in increased prices. This harmful theory not only fails to explain the twenty-five percent rise in living costs in a situation of stationary basic wages, but seriously endangers the entire perspective of a full employment economy after the war.

WLB Chairman William H. Davis should devote a great deal of his effort to convincing the public and industry members of the board that the pressing need for the belated wage increases constitutes more than simple justice to labor. It is also a necessary part of an enlightened national policy to raise consumers' buying power in order to avoid a postwar depression and pave the way for a full production, full employment economy indispensable to our prosperity.

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Talk of the Town

THE other day NEW MASSES got a letter from Greenbaum, Wolff, & Ernst, attorneys of 285 Madison Ave., New York. It isn't often that we get a letter from this firm, so we read it. Here it is:

"On behalf of our client, the *New Yorker*, we are writing to you concerning your use of the word 'Profile' in the heading of an article entitled 'Profile of a German Worker' in the October 2, 1944 issue of your magazine.

"We wish to advise you that the title 'Profile' is a registered trade mark owned by our client. The *New Yorker* has the sole and exclusive right to use it as a heading in connection with a magazine article, and has so used it continuously since its registration many years ago. Your use of it is a violation of our client's rights.

"We ask that you furnish us with written assurance that from now on such use will not be repeated."

Our first reaction was to exclaim: "Come on, Greenbaum, Wolff, & Ernst, take off those whiskers. We know you're really James Thurber." But on reading the lengthy list of firm members, we discovered that one of them was Morris L. Ernst, and we concluded that he couldn't possibly be James Thurber, though he often does bear a striking resemblance to Martin Dies. So we turned the matter over to our own triple-barreled team of lawyers, Neuberger, Shapiro, & Rabinowitz, 61 Broadway, who replied in similar rollicking vein. We quote just one paragraph:

"Do you suggest that readers of the *New Yorker*, and particularly the 'Profile' feature, could possibly have mistaken the NEW MASSES and 'Profile of a German Worker' for the *New Yorker* and its feature? Or is it your position that the word 'Profile' may not be employed by any writer, reviewer, magazine, book, or newspaper, in any descriptive form, and that only synonyms may be employed without falling afoul of your client's proprietary rights?"

Greenbaum, Wolff, & Ernst came back with a riposte which can be paraphrased in brief as "No" to the first question, and to the second: "You know what we mean, and in that case, Yes." There was a final sentence which read: "If the infringement is repeated, it will be wilful and deliberate, and our client will seek legal redress."

And there the issue, which friends of the two magazines are already referring to as the Great Debate, rests. Meanwhile NEW MASSES is consulting its attorneys as to the possibility of registering a word of its own. A strong case has been made out for the word "New" in our title. We look forward with pleasure to reading a magazine called the *Yorker*.

Principles on Poland

WHAT Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin have decided in their Moscow talks, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin will, in time, let the world know —subject, of course, to the discretion dictated by wartime. A communique may be issued before these lines are in the reader's hands, or, if not, events themselves will reveal the conclusions reached by both government leaders. The absence, for obvious reasons, of an American representative of equal rank —and that would mean the President —does not signify that our government's position on the points under discussion is not being taken into consideration. The Moscow meeting follows the Quebec conference and Mr. Churchill is undoubtedly aware, as is our Ambassador Harriman, who is sitting in on the talks, what the American attitudes are. Suffice it to say that whatever decisions are taken at the current meeting they will again be reviewed with new ones added at a later discussion in which the three chiefs of state will participate.

There is much ground for the British and Soviet premiers to cover. Some hints about the subjects on the agenda were provided by Mr. Churchill in his last parliamentary address. There is the Polish issue; there is the settlement to be made with Bulgaria; there is the need to iron out the question of voting procedure among the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council; there is need to anticipate new and sudden turns in the war; and finally, a basic unified position towards Germany must be evolved. And linked to all these points is the necessity of further coordinating Allied battle programs in Europe.

The Polish problem is a hard one to crack. But it is not nearly as hard or as impossible of solution as it is deliberately made out to be by Polish tories who would like to keep the issue seething in order to disrupt Allied relations. One example of how that is being done is the memorial submitted to President Roosevelt by the reactionary heads of the Polish-American Congress. That memorial is a document which could have been written by the notorious Pilsudski and the colonels who brought their country to shame and ruin. It was adopted last May, has the implicit blessings of candidate Dewey, as evinced in his Pulaski Day speech, but was withheld until the height of the election campaign in order to blackmail the President. However, Mr. Roosevelt's reply that he wants to see Poland reconstituted "as a strong nation, but also a representative and peace-loving nation" is indicative of the basic agreement that exists among Washington, London, and Moscow on the Polish issue. Both Churchill and Stalin have used similar words to describe their positions. The problem then is one of the means of getting a *representative* government. That can be best done by observing the Polish constitution of

LAST week the New York "Times" carried an open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey from over 800 distinguished American citizens—writers, artists, professors, ministers, rabbis, lawyers. Among the 800 are names like du Pont and Wanamaker, names like Guerrero, De Jonge, Osato, Monteux, Putnam, Stavrianos, Wolfson, and Durant. And one among them is named Dreyfus. They write: "It has been well said, 'By their deeds you shall know them.' There is a deed crying to be done in the state of New York today. A deed of simple justice, humanity and fair play. It is in your power and yours alone to do this act. We ask you to grant a pardon to Morris U. Schappes. We ask you to do this because the continued imprisonment of this teacher and scholar can only be interpreted by thoughtful Americans as political persecution. . . ." Have you joined these thoughtful and patriotic Americans in the appeal to Governor Dewey to right this great injustice?

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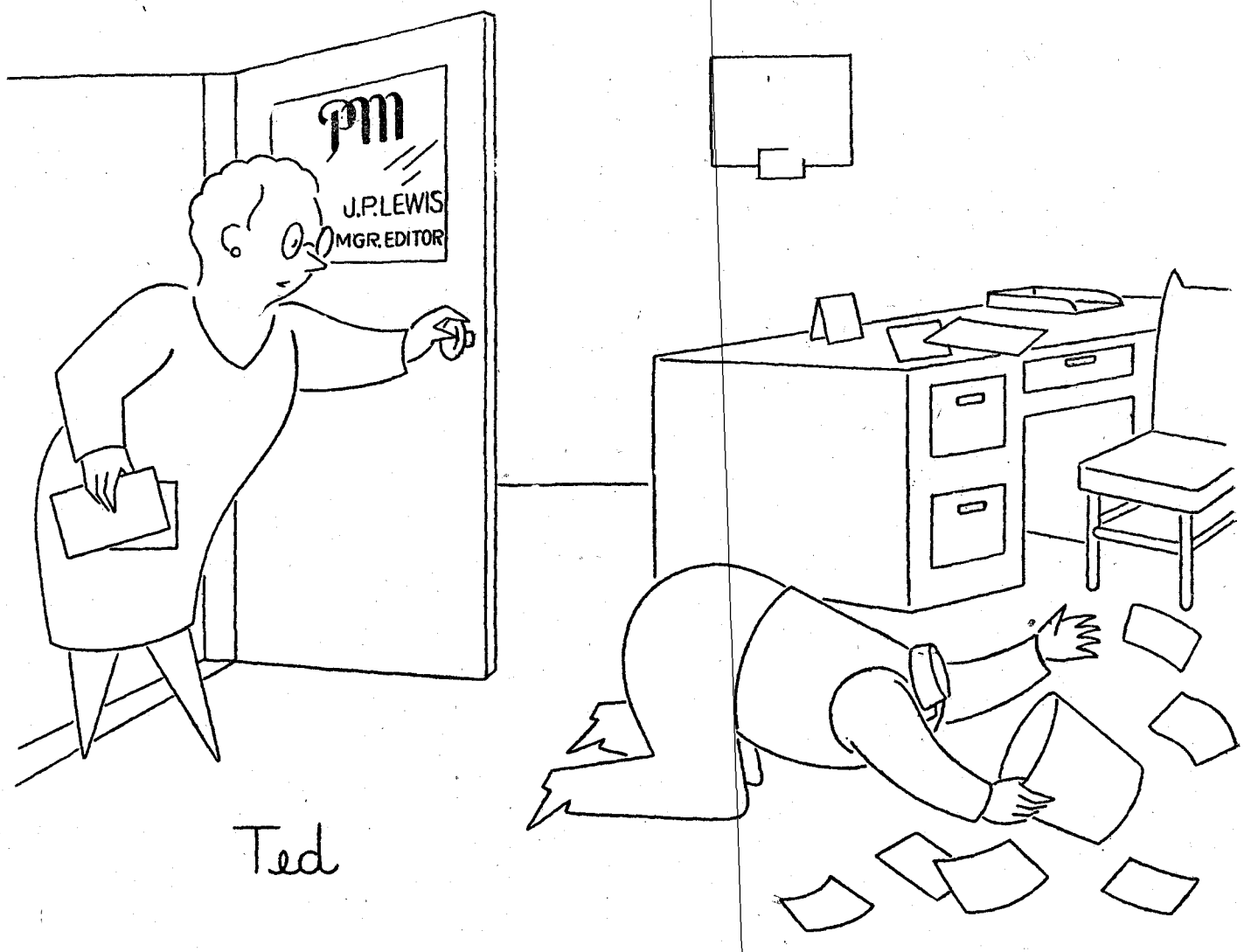

"Have you lost something again, Mr. Lewis?"

1921. It cannot be done solely by the mechanical method of having each Polish party name a delegate to a new cabinet. The cabinet will have to be created on the principle of how much potential candidates have contributed to the liberation of their country, how well they have fought for a policy of good neighborliness between Poland and the USSR, and how strong are their convictions for a Poland of, by, and for the people.

Three New Communists

THERE is a special note of pleasure for us in the news that three brilliant figures of European culture—yes, world culture—have joined the French Communist Party. To mankind's treasure of science and art, Pablo Picasso, Prof. Paul Langevin, and Frederick Joliot-Curie have added such wealth that their names will live long wherever free men breathe. It would be presumptuous to tell you about Picasso. He stands among the giants of painting. Joliot-Curie is a Nobel prize winner for his work in radiology. And Langevin is a distinguished physicist whose research has helped make life immeasurably easier. This trio represent the progressive cultural values of our time which Hitler would have wiped from the face of the earth and their joining the ranks of French Communists is a tribute to that Party's immense effort in purging the country of the Nazis.

What these three men have done in identifying themselves with the Communists reaches out beyond the borders of France. It is another instance of how the forces of life and culture have found a natural expression in the Communist parties of the world. *(A statement from Pablo Picasso—page 11—arrived just in time to make this issue.—Ed.)*

Canada's Progressives

THE October issue of the *National Affairs Monthly*, the official publication of the National Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada, contains the committee's excellent statement calling for a democratic coalition to prevent further victories by tory reaction. It marks the coming to maturity of Canada's only Marxist political party, which was founded in August 1943, and it presents us with a welcome opportunity to note the significant contribution to the war and to democratic unity that this party has already been able to make. The program adopted at the first convention carried this all-important declaration: "Victory over fascism transcends all other tasks of the working class." Faithful to that principle, the LPP has worked for labor unity, for unity among all those forces prepared to fight fascism, for labor-management cooperation, for uninterrupted war production, and for the essential improvement of conditions of work and labor representation on all war boards.

The LPP has consistently and vigorously fought the divisive influence of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation leadership which under the demagogic

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cry of "socialism today" has declared war upon progressive capitalist circles. The net effect of the CCF leadership's strategy has been to throw elections to reactionaries and fascists, to weaken the position of the progressive bourgeoisie under Prime Minister Mackenzie King, to promote strikes, and to prevent the unification of Canada's democratic elements. Today the LPP calls for a democratic coalition in the following words: "The most important job facing the people of Canada is to defeat the drive for a government of tory reaction. To accomplish that, labor and progressive forces—the trade union movement, the CCF, the LPP, and other progressive organizations and forces—need to join forces in a democratic coalition with forward looking Liberals around Mackenzie King to elect an over-all majority of candidates pledged to policies of national unity and international cooperation."

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

TOWARD THE KILL

DURING the week ending on October 14 the Western Front blazed with a number of fierce local battles. These battles, so far, have proved entirely inconclusive. The Canadians, for example, fought for the southern bank of the Schelde estuary where a German force was being squeezed between the Canadian main forces pressing from the south and a Canadian bridgehead established amphibiously from the north. This was a battle for access to the port of Antwerp. The battle, as I write, has not been won yet and we cannot use the port, although it is reported virtually intact. And to the east, other Canadians fought for the causeway leading from Antwerp to the Zuid Beveland peninsula and Walcheren Island, which hang over the Schelde estuary and from which the enemy blocks the entrance to Antwerp. This phase of the battle for the use of Antwerp has not reached its conclusion either.

Because of that no decisive action can yet be expected from the British salient which has been built up around the "stem" of the Eindhoven-Nijmegen highway pointing toward Arnhem. At last reports a German bridgehead on the southern bank of the Neder Rijn (Lek) has been wiped out, but British troops have not been able to cross the last water barrier covering the northern flank of the Siegfried Line. The British are advancing somewhat eastward from the salient, in the direction of Venray, but here they are still short of the Maas (Meuse) and thus have still two water barriers to cross—the Maas and the Rhine—before they burst into the valley of the Ruhr. Some reports had it that the Germans were moving troops and armor from the Arnhem sector to bolster the Aachen sector—robbing Peter to pay Paul. If this is true and the movement is taking place on a sizable scale, then a renewed British push in the Arnhem area could be expected even before the port of Arnhem is put to use.

This British salient, with its base on the Albert Canal and its point across the Neder Rijn from Arnhem, still looks like *the* premier strategic possibility of the near future. Some sixty miles to the south, Aachen has been reported "flattened" by artillery and air power. Its isolation at this writing is problematical, for the corridor leading out of it has been alternately described as "cut," "virtually cut," "all but cut," etc. In fact, there seems to be a corridor through which the Germans may either sneak out or sneak in, but hardly in force. The garrison of Aachen has been estimated at 1,500 men. Later it was said that 1,000 had been captured and 2,000 more were holding out. So there you are —use the best arithmetic you can. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the whole garrison hardly amounts to a regiment and, therefore, the newspaper to-do about Aachen seems to be on a psychological rather than a purely military plane. It was probably decided to make an example of this first sizable German town and give the enemy a concrete lesson in what is to come.

Further to the south, the battle of Fort Driant appears to have subsided without reaching a conclusion. On the front of the Seventh Army there is fighting for the passes north of Belfort, but here again nothing decisive has happened. The same can be said of the fighting for the still-German-held ports of France, of which there are quite a few. This is what is called the "forgotten front." The ports are Lorient, La Rochelle, Royan, and Pointe de Grave at the estuary of the Gironde. These ports are defended by about 100,000 assorted Germans. The attackers mostly consist of members of the FFI with men of many nationalities joining them in a rather loose way. However, we have Calais, Le Havre, Cherbourg, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Toulon and this should be sufficient, providing these ports are in working order. Antwerp would, of course, be of paramount importance because of its proximity to the most decisive sector of the front.

The situation in Italy has changed little, with modest advances registered by Allied troops in the direction of Bologna. The secondary importance of the Italian front comes into special relief now that a Soviet dagger has been thrust between the Alpine "crust" of the "soft underbelly" and the "underbelly" itself, reaching toward Budapest and Vienna.

Allied (mostly British) troops have landed in the Peloponnesus and have taken possession of it without encountering any resistance. Although there has been no specific report about their crossing the Corinth Canal, Athens has been liberated. The German garrison of Corfu has given up without a shot. The garrison of Crete—if still there—is doomed. Clearly the Germans are pulling out of Greece fast and will hardly be seen again in the south short of the Vardar Gap.

IT IS impossible to foretell—so desperate is the situation of Field Marshal von Weichs and his German troops in the Balkans what the Germans will do now. The Red Army and Marshal Tito's troops are pressing on Belgrade and by the time these lines appear the capital may be completely freed. Soviet troops

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hold several junctions from Subotica in Voivodina down to Velika Plana, thus cutting the main escape railroad from Salonica to Budapest. If the Bulgars have captured Nish then von Weichs has no major escape railroads at all and must choose one of three things: internment in Turkey, which he can reach with part of his troops via Macedonia and Thrace; a stand to the death in Serbia and Albania; or finally, an attempt to crash through Marshal Tito's necessarily "spotty" lines via secondary roads in Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia, into Austria. This would be a desperate gamble, especially because, should Hungary capitulate, as is likely, within a week or so, Soviet troops may be in Austria by the time von Weichs gets there on his way from Greece.

Thus, because of the very desperation of the German position in the Balkans we must, on the strength of previous experience, expect desperate battles to be fought in the valleys of the Morava and Ibar, i.e., in western Serbia. Here von Weichs will be attacked by Marshal Tolbukhin from the east, Marshal Tito from the west, Marshal Malinovsky from the north, with other Allied troops perhaps hanging on his heels from the south.

Meanwhile Soviet tanks and cavalry are driving hard in the direction of Budapest and have crossed the Tissa in force. Other Soviet troops are playing a grand squeeze on the Germans and Hungarians in Transylvania and it is quite possible that the Russians will appear at the northern Carpathian passes *from the south*, making the storming of the snowbound passes superfluous. A Soviet thrust from the Debrecen-Oradea area north toward Czap and Hust will bear watching. As things look now only a quick evacuation of all Transylvania by the enemy can save him from a huge, 10,000-square-mile trap. When and if this enemy evacuation is completed, the Soviet front, from Belgrade to Memel, will be the shortest since June 22, 1941 (approximately 900 miles).

Officially, the central front, from the northern passes in the Carpathians to the Mazurian Lakes in East Prussia, is rather quiet, and only "local fighting" is reported in the Soviet communiques. However, these same communiques report 100 to 150 to 200 German tanks knocked out in one day, and this is an indication that these "local battles" are nevertheless pretty heavy engagements.

There is little doubt that General Zakharov is battling for the widening of his Narev River bridgeheads in the area of Pultusk-Rozan. This is an operation preliminary to a general squeeze against East Prussia. The main blow against this province will hardly come at Memel, Tilsit, or in the Mazurian and Avgustov regions, but from the corridor which lies between East Prussia and the lower Vistula.

Meanwhile the Baltic operation has been almost concluded. Soviet troops captured Riga on October 13. A few days before other Soviet troops had crashed to the Baltic north of Memel (Klaipeda), thus cutting off the German Baltic Army Group in the Liepawa-Ventspils-Tukkums triangle where a sort of "Cape Bon" stand by the enemy is to be expected. However, while the Baltic campaign has been concluded in the main, an immediate attack on East Prussia should not be expected just because the army groups of Marshal Govorov and Generals Maslennikov and Yeremenko have been freed by the capture of Riga. These army groups, which operated on a wide front generally facing northwestward, will now have to be regrouped to fit into a much narrower front facing almost southward. This is a complex maneuver which will take some time. Generally speaking the attack on the Vistula line and on East Prussia will probably form the essence of the last Soviet early winter campaign. Such a compaign would have two months of 1944 to run. A lot can be done in two months.

In the Far North the port of Petsamo has been captured by Soviet troops, and now prolonged German resistance in Finland will become hardly possible.

"And don't forget, boys, the other team's for Dewey."

The Oaks of Peace

(*Continued from page* 15)

potential aggressors? If such reference to Congress has to be made time and again, and many Republican Congressmen are planning to make it necessary, then American participation in the Council becomes a mockery, with the other participants never knowing where we stand at crucial moments demanding quick decisions. Mr. Dewey has not had a word to say about this issue, although he has had ample opportunity to make his position clear.

But more, it was only last week when Dewey's foreign affairs brain truster—and his candidate for the secretaryship of state if he gets to the White House—issued the ultimatum that if Mr. Roosevelt is reelected then the Senate under Republican auspices would wreck the peace. That was John Foster Dulles in a letter to a member of the League of Women Voters in Connecticut. And that, as Sen. Claude Pepper described it, is an attempt on the part of Dulles "to blackmail the electorate by offering an open threat that members of his own party will repeat their performance of 1920 when they destroyed peace, unless Mr. Dewey is elected."

The whole business is becoming too much for several Republican figures to stomach. Senator Ball, a Republican from Minnesota, has already challenged Dewey to cut the pussyfooting, to stop exuding easy, safe generalities, and tell where he stands. Ball is showing considerable courage and his moves reflect the troubled feelings of thousands of Republican rank and filers that the little man from Albany can lead to nowhere but a dead end.

There is only one alternative for them if the beelzebubs who rule their party are not to step on their necks or risk them again in another war a few generations hence—and that is to forget party regularity and support Mr. Roosevelt as well as those candidates who will make Dumbarton Oaks into a sturdy rampart of peace.

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READERS' FORUM

Joe Louis Slugs for the USA

The following letter to a friend was sent in to NEW MASSES *"Readers' Forum" by Pfc. Rogosin.—The Editors.*

THE other day I saw Joe Louis take another smashing swing at his old enemy, fascism, and all that it represents. He was giving a boxing exhibition at one of the Southern California camps. Just picture the setting: several thousand white soldiers grouped about a ring on a parade ground waiting to see and watch Sergeant Joe Louis, Corporal George Nicholson, heavyweight, Corporal Walker Smith (Ray "Sugar" Robinson), world's welterweight title claimant, and Private George J. (Jackie) Wilson, former world's welterweight champion.

Here was a group of four great Negro fighters who were going to fight for the entertainment of white troops, yes even many southern white troops. Here again was the same kind of Americanism, the same kind of patriotism that Joe Louis showed when last year he fought a benefit for the Navy despite its discrimination policy against Negroes.

As he put it at that time, his country came first even when it did discriminate against him and his people. It was his country!

On that parade ground were a number of men who had just come back from a weary ten-mile hike, with full pack and rifle on their backs. There they stood with their helmets on, tired from their day's training, and yet standing there to pay homage to a great fighter. Above in the sky flew P-38's and Flying Fortresses. It was indeed a unique setting for a fight by the champion of the world.

The preliminary bout by Robinson and Wilson was one in which they demonstrated that they were not pulling their punches in an exhibition that didn't matter to them. They gave what they had in them. They really fought, and the crowd roared with delight at the way Robinson beautifully ducked the punches of his opponent, and the way the two of them slugged it out.

As for the Joe Louis exhibition, it was not up to the standard set by Robinson. But that was not so important. For by a few simple remarks at the end of the bout, the champion of the world had that crowd in his hand. For he said that under the Special Services Division of the Army, the fighters had been fighting every day since August 30 except Saturday and Sunday, and that "naturally enough you can't expect us to knock each other out every day." The crowd laughed.

He praised Robinson for having given such a fine exhibition, and said that he was very happy to be there to stage the boxing exhibition. Then he raised his voice and said "God bless you!"

There was something about that remark that I think all those who heard it will remember for a long time to come. Here was a Negro, who had been discriminated against in his own life, and who had the certain knowledge that discrimination against his people was still being practiced in our country.

He knew about the discrimination policy of the Army in having separate white and Negro regiments. He knew too about the shameful ways in which Negro soldiers had been treated in parts of the South. He knew that many of those in that very crowd watching him had anti-Negro prejudices.

And yet he turned to them all, and said, "God bless you!" For to him, undoubtedly, they all were fighters for the democratic way of life, despite their prejudices.

There was the hope that as they continued to fight for that way of life, they would more and more lose those prejudices which are a blot and a shame on our nation. Here was a lesson for those Negro leaders who believe that only by refusal to cooperate in the war against Hitlerism, can the Negro attain the freedom and equality of opportunity that truly ought to be his.

A great American and a great Negro spoke when those few simple words "God bless you!" were addressed to those thousands of white soldiers.

PFC. H. ROGOSIN.

Somewhere in the USA.

How of National Income

TO NEW MASSES: You do such a swell job that I hate to be picking flaws. But in discussing "Who's Going to Buy" in your editorial [NEW MASSES, September 12] somebody stubbed his toe on the rocky subject of national income and total national product. For the sake of your well-earned reputation for careful accuracy, I venture to ask a correction.

The writer states that "national income" is "considerably larger" than "national product," when actually the two estimates bear exactly the opposite relationship. If you add to national income the estimates of business taxes and total depreciation and other business reserves you have the gross national product. "National income" is made up of four items: (1) salaries and wages; (2) net income of proprietors, including agricultural, other business, and professionals; (3) interest and net rents; and (4) corporate profits after taxes, including both dividends and undistributed profits.

"National product" is arrived at by a road on which there are three signposts: (1) government production and purchases of goods and services; (2) private gross capital formation; and (3) consumers' purchases of goods and services. But, as I said before, national income plus business taxes and total depreciation and other reserves also gives you the same total for national product.

I can say this with confidence only because I read and took careful notes on an article in *Dun's Review* (February 1944), by Milton Gilbert and George Jaszi of the US Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

New York ANNA ROCHESTER.

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Willkie's Followers

(*Continued from page* 12)

didates's blackguard campaign. Not only the humble, like my friend the farmer, but also those for whom Mr. Lippmann speaks — the mighty men in the places of power—are having second thoughts these days. It is vastly significant that the New York *Times*, which supported Willkie in 1940, supports Roosevelt in 1944. The editors of the *Times*, and those they represent, are unready to abdicate their sense of national interest by standing sheepishly beside Dewey. It is revealing too that Bartley C. Crum, Willkie's former campaign manager in California, has spoken for Roosevelt—and in the name of several hundred prominent Republicans of the Coast. Will others of their status, before November 7, think straight and have the strength of their inevitable conclusions—that a Dewey victory imperils their own well-being along with that of the nation? That it spells war again, and poverty, and national desolation?

IN RETROSPECT, I cannot believe the Old Guard's effort to usurp Willkie's memory will beguile many. Webster's definition for a ghoul still stands and America can read.

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REVIEW and COMMENT

WHAT OPERA MEANS TO ITALY

By HENRY MYERS

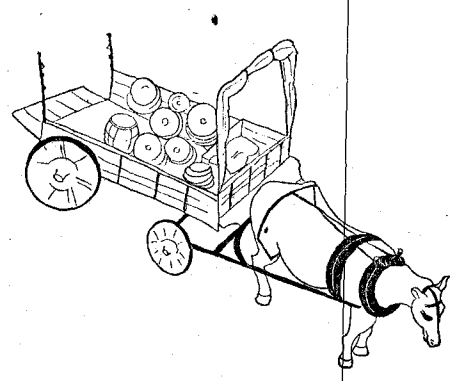
THE social life of our Army in Italy was recently described in the *Saturday Evening Post*, in an article which told how our soldiers are going, hook, line, and sinker, for Italian grand opera. I had this corroborated by an Army flyer, back from bombing Rome, who told me that the *Post* spoke truly and that the art of Verdi and Puccini is extremely popular with our boys in Rome, Florence, and points south. He attributed this popularity to two things: first, that they like it; second, that it often gives Army nurses a reason to dress up, with all the formality of our own Met.

The second reason is important because it accords dignity and respect to the national art of our Italian allies, but the first reason is vital, because to appreciate Italian opera is to understand Italy. Imagine a foreigner who wanted to understand America but who acted superior to baseball, Mark Twain, musical comedy, comic strips, and movies! He would simply have to get over his snobbishness toward these, our cultural expressions; otherwise he would never really like us and we certainly wouldn't like him. Well, it works both ways in Italy, too.

This particular snobbishness toward Italian grand opera does exist, especially among many of our American intellectuals. There is supposed to be something preposterous about opera, something unworthy of respectful attention. True, very few people who despise opera ever attend it. But I think that the really potent reason is the fact that it is fashionable among highbrows to be contemptuous of this particular art. I don't know what produced the fashion or what keeps it going, but I suspect that it is a worship of realism pushed to an extreme. People do not sing in everyday life nor do they posture in the operatic manner; *ergo* opera, in which they do both these things, is to be condemned. But this is no valid reason: it is a confusion of the real with the actual. There is an *essence* of reality in opera, albeit the reality of a bygone day, and if you will drop your critical guard and let yourself go, that bygone day will get you, just as surely as it will when purveyed by Shakespeare or Moliere.

Opera was never meant to be realistic, in the sense that its behavior, garb, audible expression and the like, should be familiar. Costume, for example, can't be familiar and it shouldn't be, as even as great a master as Verdi found out when he wrote *La Traviata*. Based on *Camille*, which was the very latest thing in literary realism, Verdi thought it would be dramatically effective to have the characters appear in "modern" costume—that is, the costume of 1853, when it was written. The word "flop" was not known to Italy, but "fiasco" was and that is what Verdi got for his mistake. *La Traviata* was instantly withdrawn. It was revived a year later, costumed in the period of Louis XIV—which may have outraged external verity but rang truer—and it became a monumental success and a permanent part of operatic repertoire. Somewhere around 1900 the costumes of Verdi's own day were restored, but Verdi's own day had by then become a historical period, so nothing jarred and the ninety-year run goes on.

What is there in the nature of grand opera that fights against the actual? Thereby hangs a tale—the tale of modern Italy, in which opera has played a social and sometimes a revolutionary role, developing and changing as the nobility and their subjects struggled for power. Together with the country of its birth opera fought its way into the twentieth century. It remains entrenched in every country, charming us if we will but listen and revealing the personality of Italy if we will but observe.



Just about the tail end of the Renaissance—around the year 1600—a group of artistic enthusiasts met at the home of Count Bardi in Florence. The ideals of the Renaissance were Greek. Michaelangelo and Da Vinci were studying the sculpture of Praxiteles and Count Bardi and his friends were studying the plays of Sophocles and Euripides. Their particular hope was to revive not only the classic Greek plays but the classic Greek manner of presentation. Believing that the Greek drama was declaimed and attitudinized—a belief that accorded with Renaissance Italy's own magnificence—they commissioned a poet named Rinuccini and a composer named Peri to prepare a musical drama based on the Greek myth of Apollo and Daphne. Well, when the collaborators finished the assignment it is true that they had by no means revived the drama of classic Greece, but they had accomplished something of great historic and cultural importance: they had invented Italian grand opera. "Invented" may be too strong a word, because there had been early attempts at dramatic presentations with musical passages, but Rinuccini and Peri gave a prominence to *recitativo*—*Daphne* was exclusively that —which characterized Italian opera for many years and started it on its long path of development.

From the very start, opera was the exclusive property of the nobility. For one thing, it was so magnificent and so expensive that no one else could afford it, and the very lavishness of a production gave its sponsor prestige. We can imagine one Duke inviting another Duke to come to *his* opera house to hear *his* new opera by *his* composer and dazzling him with the results, very much as New York's millionaires vied with each other in the nineties to see who could give the grandest grand ball. It was exorbitant and was meant to be, with a tradition of super-lavishness that had been carried over from the old *sacre rappresentazioni*, scenery for which had been painted by Raphael. Also from the start it was naturally these same noble patrons who determined the content of operas. The classic stateliness

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of mythical Greece, with its gods and heroes and general superiority to what went on here below, continued to be the artistic ideal. Daphne and Orpheus figured respectively in hundreds of libretti, set to such music as might have sounded in the Elysian fields.

But not even a Medici could stand such expense and the public had to be let in at last, as paying customers. With that concession to ordinary human beings, concessions had to be made presently to their taste as well, resulting in greater tunefulness and less recitative. There was, of course, much critical complaint that the purity of art was being sacrificed and that opera was better in the good old days. The struggle between the old and the new went on for centuries, but in the end the public always won; so that the arias, the use of recitative as the mere prelude to a song, and the orchestra that sounded "like a big guitar" became the passion of the Italian people and were in fact their creation. Bellini and Donizetti have been adversely criticized for their primitive harmonies and their simple accompaniments; composers such as these were, however, well grounded in musical theory and wrote primitively not from necessity but by preference. Had they been scholarly and philosophical they would not have been Italian: they would have been German. Beethoven said as much in his appraisal of Rossini, whom he greatly admired. It might repay investigation to discover the reasons that set the Italians to composing operas and the Germans to composing symphonies, as their respective musical ideals.

Whereas in Italy the people ultimately captured opera, when it found its way to England it continued to be the exclusive property of the nobility, and there is an interesting contrast to its fate in the two countries. In the days of Handel the most popular type of operatic star in England was the artificial male soprano—the *castrato*. Here was a triumph of decadence and a perfected absence of mundane emotion. "Purity" of tone was admired in the *castrati*, as well as their unhampered vocal agility and their mastery of that technique for which they had literally given their all. Nor was it considered a sacrifice on their part. It was a career, paying handsomely when successful, one embarked upon deliberately by many a boy soprano whose voice had not yet changed. (One can, however, imagine the feelings of a *castrato* who did not make the grade.) In Italy, the vigor of the people saw opera safely through the *castrato* period and into a healthy future; but in England, opera had no future, except for a few composers like Balfe and Wallace who really wrote comic, not grand, opera. The people did participate in both Germany and France, with the result that in each of those countries grand opera had its characteristic national history. It was Italian grand opera, however, which came first and which determined and colored all the others, and whose language, style, and traditions have always had priority.

By the time Rossini was operatic king, about 1815, Italy's singing conquest of the world was everywhere acknowledged and it was the Italian opera-goers who determined opera's content. There were still dukes and princes, each with his opera house, but their individual tastes were lost in the great flood of world taste, and besides, by that time they too probably liked tunes and heartiness. Melodies were such as could be whistled—and they were, by everyone. Rossini's *"Di Tanti Palpiti"* from his opera *Tancredi* is the greatest song-hit on record and was popular for forty years; it was the ultimate test of a prima donna, as *Hamlet* was of an actor. New York heard its first Italian grand opera in 1825, where it was sponsored by the new American nobility of wealth. The Astors and the Beekmans engaged boxes and the New York *Post*, the morning after the opening, spoke of the "elegantly attired females," recognizing opera's subsidiary role to the fashion show.

When Verdi assumed ascendancy in Italy, national unity was the issue of the day and Verdi became a symbol of this aspiration. The letters of his name were said to represent *"Vittorio Emmanuele, Re d'Italia."* Verdi ardently advocated the unifying of the numerous principalities into a nation and one of his activities was supplying guns to Garibaldi. His libretti, which seem inane today, were of great concern to him and often had considerable political meaning, particularly when a Duke could be shown as a profligate and a rogue. If the censor cut out such a passage, word of it would get around and there would be a riot on opening night. In *A Masked Ball* the censor forced the character of Gustave III of Sweden to be changed to the governor of Boston—such a Boston as never existed, with court life, silver shoe buckles and lace knee ruffles. The attempted assassination of Napoleon III had just occurred, and the changes bear witness to a strong republican feeling and a harassed censor.

The great followers of Verdi—Mascagni, Leoncavallo, and Puccini—owe their popularity to their being influenced by the Italian Verdi rather than by the German Wagner. Melody and emotion were their national birthright and they sought no other. Whether opera developed in Italy under Mussolini, we can only guess; but in any case it would have been part of a superimposed culture.

Now there is a new democratic Italy being born afresh, and it will inevitably add new glories to its national art. Opera is tied to Italian heartstrings. Italians know its every nuance and detail as we know batting averages. There is an Italian restaurant proprietor named Perino in Los Angeles who has an ambition to be a producer of grand opera —an ambition which has somehow haunted many of his profession and reduced them to bankruptcy. A group of my friends and I stopped in one night for dinner and asked Mr. Perino to hurry it along, as we were going to the opera. "Which opera?" he asked, and we told him *La Gioconda*. "Well," he said, consulting his watch, "you are too late for *'Voce di Donna,'* but you can make *'Cielo e Mar'* and 'The Dance of the Hours.'" He is no exception. In Italy, the little boys bring long wine bottles on which they perch precariously through the performance, with their chins gripping the rail at the rear of the auditorium. There they stay, glued, learning every note and action and how it should be done. When some one sings a wrong note, they scream *"Ladro!"* (thief) as we might scream "Kill the umpire!" No realism, indeed!

If you are really open-minded and want to know what makes an Italian tick, I recommend *Il Trovatore*. The libretto is unutterably silly, a distortion of a popular novel of 1840 which was silly in the first place. But if you will arm yourself only with the most general outline of the plot, forget your sophistication and then just sit and let yourself go, you will find that when the curtain falls at the end of an act, you *must* applaud. And you will be applauding Italy at its best.

Engineers of Destruction

THE GRAVEDIGGERS OF FRANCE, *by Pertinax. Doubleday, Doran. $6.00.*

HERE, carefully documented, is a dissection of the tragedy of France, which culminated in the stunning collapse of June 1940. But one has only to

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set this penetrating analysis of downfall against the magnificent resurgence of democratic France in recent weeks to realize that the spirit of France was never defeated, let alone conquered, by the German invaders and their French fascist accomplices.

The author of this volume is Andre Geraud, who under the pen-name of Pertinax has written extensively for the American press as well as that of his native France. He combines all the qualities of an outstanding publicist: a sense of history, cool lucidity, personal contacts with all the leading figures of modern France, including close relations with the usually inaccessible top leaders of the armed forces of the Third Republic, and not least, a passionate faith in his own people. It is this latter quality which makes his book a noteworthy contribution, certainly among the most revelatory of all the dozens of volumes about France that have appeared since 1940.

For it is significant that Pertinax, though he himself never took an active part in politics, was a Rightist in his political point of view. But he has never wavered in upholding the true national interests of France. He was and remains a nationalist in the best sense of the term: a nationalist who refused to countenance any collaboration with the forces of European fascism, who advocated the Franco-Soviet pact of 1935, and opposed the Munich pact of 1938. He refused to lend any support to the Petain regime which rose to power after the criminal capitulation of June 1940, and greeted the resistance movement which first took shape under the leadership of Gen. Charles de Gaulle. In other words, in him patriotic national interests took precedence over class interest.

The gravediggers of France were many: some were conscious traitors, others were creatures of weakness, indecision, and vacillation. In the first category, Pertinax places Marshal Petain, Pierre Laval, and such lesser figures as Fernand de Brinon, Marcel Deat, and Jacques Doriot. In the second group are the impassive Gamelin, the mercurial Reynaud, the intriguing Chautemps, and the weak Daladier. General Weygand, too, is portrayed in an extremely unfavorable light, and Pertinax has performed a public service in outlining Weygand's highly equivocal behavior.

Indeed, French army circles in general reminded Pertinax "too often and too vividly of some club, or caste, insufficiently open to the outer world." But that corruption and defeatism were not the hallmarks of every high French officer is proved by the later exploits in the resistance movement of de Gaulle himself.

This is a rewarding book, rich in nuances and psychological insights, and convincing in its rigorous logic. Its one weakness is that it views the history of the Third Republic too much in terms of personalities, diplomatic interchanges, and individual intrigues. The social forces at work in France are only lightly touched upon, and here Pertinax comes to conclusions which do not square entirely with the facts. Thus, his treatment of the Popular Front movement, and in particular of the role of the French Communist Party, leaves much to be desired.

But the current events in liberated France—especially the role of the French Communists in the broad national movement of the Maquis and the National Council of Liberation—round out the political picture better than any book. Pertinax originally published his volume in French many months ago; so it is possible that his emphases would alter if he were to revise it today.

He writes: "France does not meet her liberators wearing a hair shirt, strewn with ashes, and reciting penitential psalms." All students of French affairs will vigorously underline these sentiments and share Pertinax's profound faith in a democratic France, reborn and revivified, and destined to play a major role in the postwar world.

J. B. DAVIDSON.

Poverty in Canada

FRENCH CANADA, *by Stanley B. Ryerson. International. $2.50.*

AMERICANS, even well informed Americans, seem to know far less about our neighbors to the north and south than they do about Europe or even Asia. This is as true of Canada as it is of Latin America. The substantial gains of the Duplessis *Union Nationale* over Premier Godbout's pro-United Nations Liberals in the recent Quebec provincial elections came as a shock to American democratic opinion; but comment in the American press showed very little understanding of the economic and political background which has made French Canada such fertile ground for fascist demagogy.

The key to such an understanding is the historical fact that the French Canadians are a nation which has achieved essential political equality within the fed-

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SEE BACK COVER, TOO

eral structure of the Dominion, but nevertheless suffers from serious remnants of social and economic inequality and vestiges of the feudal past. This is the central theme of *French Canada* by Stanley Brehaut Ryerson, national educational director of the Labor-Progressive Party of Canada.

The first part of Mr. Ryerson's book is devoted to a survey of the historical development of the French Canadian nationality. He shows how the original guarantees of the rights of nationality to the French Canadians in the Quebec Act of 1774, given by the British government under the pressure of the impending American Revolution, contained a deep contradiction in that the form of government established was profoundly undemocratic. He traces one hundred years of struggle by the French Canadian people, in alliance with the democratic forces of English Canada, to secure and extend these national rights and to develop democracy and autonomy for Canada as a whole. The fusion of French Canadian capital with the Anglo-Canadian monopolists left the leadership of the national struggle in the hands of the petty bourgeois nationalist elements, who have increasingly become an appendage of feudal and reactionary clerical forces in Quebec. Consequently, the legitimate and progressive national sentiments of the French Canadians were diverted into reactionary channels until the emergence of the organized Quebec working class has again begun to make possible a progressive orientation.

The *Union Nationale* of Duplessis and the openly defeatist *Bloc Populaire* are the political expressions of the feudal-clerical nationalism which feeds upon the incomplete national equality and the intense exploitation and poverty of Quebec. Mr. Ryerson analyzes at length the startling economic and social conditions which result from the combination of the remnants of feudalism with highly concentrated Anglo-Canadian-American monopoly—for, despite the general impression in the United States, Quebec is an industrialized province, with sixty-three percent of its population living in cities.

I think it is worth quoting some of the facts which Ryerson brings forward to show how profound is the exploitation. In the first place, in the second quarter of the twentieth century, as the law stands today, Quebec peasants are still paying commuted feudal dues and will be paying them for forty more years. The per capita income in the province of Quebec is less than seventy percent of that in Ontario; the per capita retail sales fifty-one percent—although the percentage of manufacturing to agriculture is almost identical in the two provinces. The infant mortality rate in 1941 was 45.6 per 1,000 for Ontario; for Quebec, 75.9; for Quebec city, 107; the death rate from tuberculosis was twenty-six in Ontario, 80.6 in Quebec, 108.1 in Quebec city. Per capita educational expenditure in 1936 was $12.01 in Ontario, $7.24 in Quebec; Ontario has 468 public libraries, Quebec twenty-seven—and *only nine of these are French.*

With these figures in front of us, it is easy to see that the national question in Canada is by no means solved. A tremendous responsibility rests upon the French Canadian and English Canadian democratic forces together to fight for the removal of conditions which have made Quebec, both during the Duplessis government of 1936-39 and again today, a serious focal spot of fascist infection upon our continent. "Backward Quebec" is, as Mr. Ryerson points out, a facile phrase used in English Canada and, we must add, in the United States, to place upon the French Canadian people the blame for the medieval conditions in which they are held and which are a basis for reactionary demagogy. This invaluable book by an able Marxist Canadian scholar amply demonstrates the democratic heritage of Quebec and the democratic forces which exist today. The cause of French Canadian "backwardness" is oppression and inequality, which is no more the fault of the people of that province than is the "backwardness" of our South the fault of the southern sharecroppers and workers.

F. J. MEYERS.

The Willkie I Knew

(*Continued from page* 11)

sumed it was his answer to my guess as to his views on the "little prosecuting attorney." This material appeared later in *PM*, apparently from the same source.

When things got too hot for Dewey as a result of his sniping at the Dumbarton Oaks conference just as it was about to open, he ran to Willkie for cover. The latter was amused. Publicly, he released his own statement, showing that he had checked the facts on the conference. Without saying so, he made plain that Dewey had gone all out without any such check and found himself on a limb. Privately, he wrote me: "Some of these politicians remind me of

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the fellow who was so keen he cut himself. I don't know if it is true, but I have been told that the Dewey people had deliberately prepared to put me on the spot. I don't know just why or what spot. . . ."

Willkie will not vote in the 1944 election. But his direct and honest approach to the issues will not help Dewey. In his simple way, Willkie made plain to the man on the street the weakness of the international policy of the old guard Republicans. His utter simplicity, his courage in adhering to his own principles, come what might, his love for other human beings, made up Willkie's greatness. His death at this time in his country's history leaves an aching void. Willkie helped unify the country, Republican and Democrat alike, behind the broad vision which made him see contending international forces as "One World."

Let us hope he built strongly, for now we must go on without him.

William Jay Scheiffelin

(*Continued from page 7*)

contribute much to the happiness of the world in years to come. The example of Czechoslovakia affords a fine pattern for Germans to follow.

There might well be an interim advisory commission to direct Germany composed of Russian, Jewish, Polish, Czech, French, Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian men and women.

The Germans must work out their own salvation with fear and trembling. Revolutions are bloody and the danger is that the occupying forces, in keeping order, will side with the haves against the have nots. Therefore patience must be used and time must be allowed for the people to decide, by votes, after their leaders have emerged.

The United Nations forces should be impartial and not side with reactionary conservatives. The hope is in the courage of the religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, within Germany. Political pressure from the Vatican, however, would be a threat to progress. I was at the University of Munich for three semesters during the eighties and there was no sign of anti-Semitism; there was much good will, although the army officers were arrogant.

So let us believe in the revival of the best in Germany. Let us hope that her people will once more earn the right to go and to trade anywhere by land, by sea, or by air and to pursue those aims that promote peace and good will!

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

HOLLYWOOD AND THE NEGRO

By JOSEPH FOSTER

TO HEAR the reactionaries tell it, Hollywood is an isolated community devoted to the sole business of "pure entertainment." But they know better, and when they produce such films as *Birth of a Nation* (probably the most presumptuous title in all movie literature), *Gone With the Wind, Santa Fe Trail, Comrade X, Tennessee Johnson, Lifeboat,* and other tidbits, they shatter their own legend. The film industry has always reflected the political and social concerns of the country at large. From the days of the Keystone comedy to the present—films have rarely failed to indicate, in a large measure, the social attitudes of their makers. Since in the past Hollywood has been in the hands of the tories, many myths were established concerning the ideas a public would or would not tolerate. The market was the omnipotent arbiter, and even the apolitical producer was firmly convinced of the sanctity of these myths. He subscribed completely to the belief that any violation would lead to a calamitous disturbance of Box Office, and his temerity would be thus rewarded by financial ruin.

This was never truer than when applied to the myth of Negro character. To keep intact the economic slavery of the Negro, and its concomitant policy of Jim Crow, he was always pictured (with extremely rare exceptions, as in *Arrowsmith*) as shiftless, indolent, immoral, cowardly, childlike, irresponsible, brutal, untrustworthy. He was a drunken lout, endangering the decent (white) women of the community, or a childlike servant, incapable of thought or even coordination.

With the rise of articulate protest the situation has slowly changed. Despite the fact that Chase National Bank and other financial institutions still wield the same tremendous power they enjoyed fifteen or twenty years ago, Hollywood is not the same *bete noir* that Harry Alan Potamkin, the noted film critic, inveighed against in such essays as *Eyes of the Movie*. Many serious and honest writers have aided in a movement to introduce more truth to the films. The impetus of the war has stimulated this tendency, and the movie treatment of the Negro, since 1939, has not been equalled by the stage, radio, or any other competitive medium in the dissemination of ideas.

This is not to say that the Negro stereotype has entirely disappeared, or that the old box office concept of the colored man is no more. To many Hollywood minds the Stepin Fetchit image is still the accurate symbol of the American Negro. Reaction still is powerful, tough, and aggressive, and cannot easily be shoved aside. Jim Crow is still the ornithological standard for many influential producers and studio heads. What *is* important is the fact that the successful assaults upon the stereotype have increased, that the picture of the real Negro is beginning to appear alongside the false, older image and with greater frequency. A quick look at the movies since the war will bear me out.

ONE of the early war pictures was *Bataan,* with Kenneth Spencer in its cast. This young Negro plays the part of an American soldier. He is moved by fear, courage, stamina, and the requirements of the battle. There is no patronage in the attitude of the other soldiers towards him. In short, he is neither better, worse nor different from the others. It is the first war picture I recall in which a Negro in the company of white troops behaves according to the exigencies of the situation, and not according to the color of his skin.

The remarkable portrait of the French Colonial Negro soldier as played by Rex Ingram, in the film *Sahara,* needs little recounting here. For the first time, in cinema memory, a Negro is adjudged a hero in a contest determined only by the nature of the issues, even though his adversary is white. In this film the Negro is the symbol of the democratic idea. He is disciplined, courageous, resourceful. Gone the stammering, fear-ridden clown. Ingram is the quintessential soldier who meets death because the fight demands it. This picture marked the high-water level of anti-stereotype delineation.

In connection with the question of honest portrayal, a film will sometimes show a hundred feet or so of a shot the release of which represents an important victory. Very often, the sequence is so short that it escapes the attention of the audience, even a progressive one. I refer to a picture starring Gene Krupa, in which Roy Eldridge, the fine Negro trumpet player, is a member of the band. In the scenes spotlighting the band, all the featured musicians got solo bits in closeup—all, that is, except Eldridge. As the story reached me, there was some question of giving the Negro player equal footage, on the grounds that the Southern market would be hurt by it. Krupa insisted that Eldridge must have the solo closeup. He won his point, which marked a shattering precedent in the handling of such matters.

The film *Syncopation,* dealing with the rise of jazz, is yet another indication of the growing impulse for fair Negro treatment among the movie makers. In itself, it was no great shakes, but it did show the Negro as a serious artist, the substantial craftsman who created the jazz form, respected by white musicians who admit that swing was original with the Negro people and not with big name radio bands or itinerant white crooners. Here, too, the Negro is treated warmly and sympathetically, his problems and poverty indicated; in general, regarded as a human being.

PERHAPS one of the most memorable of all movie sequences dealing with the Negro is included in a second-rate "B" picture whose name escapes me. Its finale contained Earl Robinson's *Ballad For Americans*. The highlight was the closeup of a young Negro who sings that "man in a white skin can never be free so long as his black brother is in slavery." This is the furthest any film had ever gone in proclaiming the democratic ideal.

A picture I have almost overlooked, *In This Our Life,* goes to the deep South to prove that the Negro is cour-

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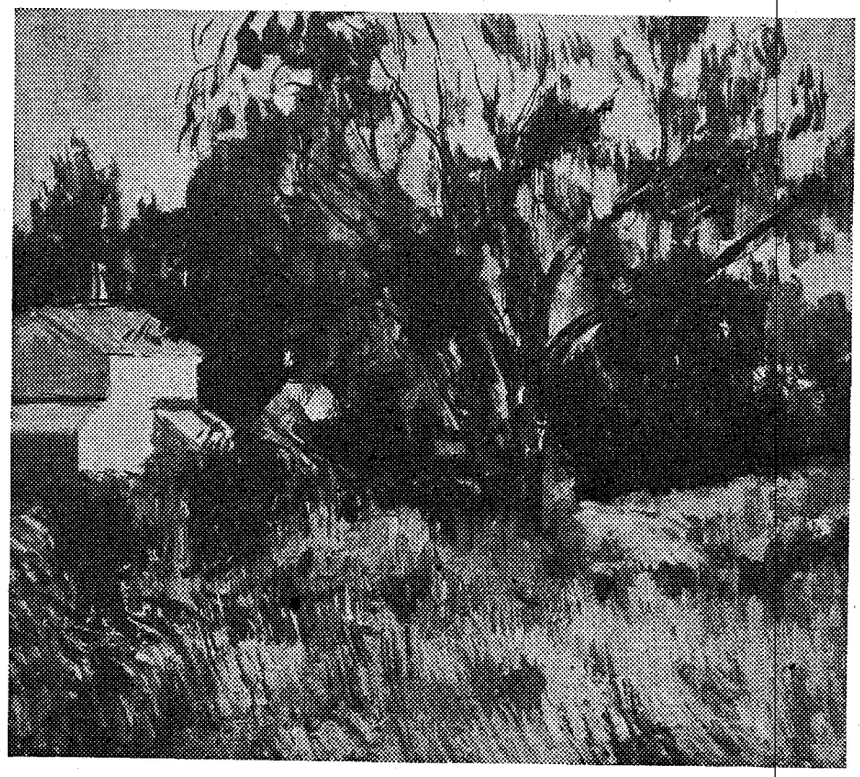

"Apple Tree," by Taro Yashima. Part of an Exhibition of Interracial Art now at the International Print Society gallery.

ageous, self-reliant, ambitious, proud and honest. In this film a young boy is depicted not as a cotton hand, but a law student with a serious view of life. In the dramatic clash between the boy and a spoiled, selfish belle, this film states that Negroes have integrity, can rise beyond self-seeking and possess a superior dignity. It is a conclusion that ranks high in the movie history of this subject. Numerous other bits included in productions of this period would have been regarded as rare, in other days. There was the fine bit by Dooley Wilson in *Casablanca;* the singing of "The House I Live In," by the Delta Rhythm Boys (*Follow the Boys*)—in which the significance, accidental or not, arises from the fact that four Negroes are assigned to sing one of the most touchingly progressive songs we have; the excellent lines that Leigh Whipper is given in the *Ox-Bow Incident;* and the usual appearance of such Negro stars as Lena Horne, the Berry Brothers, Hazel Scott, and others in such all-star musicals as *Broadway Rhythm, Follow the Boys,* etc.

ON THE question of all-Negro films, I do not agree that *Cabin in the Sky* and *Stormy Weather* belong on the credit side of the ledger. It is true that the talent and ability of the Negro, his charm and grace, are amply demonstrated. But like *Hallelujah,* before them, these films by plot and subject matter confirm the fake image of a simple, childlike creature (his adherence to the naive conceptions of the good God and the bad God), his overweening love, to the exclusion of all other interests, for fighting, gambling, drinking, and carousing.

In general, these movies do not portray the Negro honestly. After seeing these films you would never guess that Negroes participate seriously in contemporary life. I would class them, therefore, with the really objectionable pictures of the war period—*The Texan, Lifeboat,* and some of the films mentioned earlier.

Comparing these sound and false treatments of the Negro, it is easily observed that never before has there been such encouraging work in Hollywood. As I have warned, a survey of this kind does not mean that the fight is won. It merely indicates that precedent has been broken. And in weakening the hidebound image of the Negro, not only did the movie companies not lose money, as some of them might have expected to do, but they have enjoyed the largest grosses in the history of the film industry. Of course, the more reactionary entrepreneurs will hang on to the "Rastus" idea, but how long they can stay on this path can easily be determined by articulate and progressive movie-goers.

On Broadway

Two shows this week tested the culturally liberal attitudinizations of the daily newspapers' theater critics. For some time, the theater has been moving steadily ahead in its treatment of Negro characters. This is in the spirit of the time, in the spirit of the war we are waging, in the spirit of cultural and political maturing. What a shock, therefore, to read Howard Barnes of the New York *Herald Tribune* regretting—or, in his own word—disconcerted by the happenstance that in Herbert Kubly's *Men To The Sea* of the four couples in the play, the Negro couple should behave with the most dignity and wisdom!

But if Mr. Barnes has yet to catch up with the advance echelon of theater progress, so, on the evidence of the reviews of the new musical *Bloomer Girl,* have all the rest of his nocturnal colleagues.

I think we are generally agreed that a theater review to be complete must fulfill two functions: it must report the play as news, tell what it was about, and who were its participants; then attempt an aesthetic evalution of its totality. But with the notable exception of Sam Sillen's column in the *Daily Worker,* all the others I saw suppressed the story *Bloomer Girl* tells. They dismissed it as just another musical hang-together of which the less said the kinder, and then rushed into the usual top-of-the-head opinions of sets, songs, dances, and performers, much as if they were reporting a good vaudeville show.

Why did the newspaper critics neglect to report what *Bloomer Girl* is about? Was it really because the book was too insignificant to merit attention? Or was it because Sig Herzig and Fred Saidy, basing themselves on the play by Lilith and Dan James, had created a unique freedom-loving musicale in which the struggle for man's emancipation is the very heart and core of the conflict? For the time is 1861, and we see the abolitionists taking the fight to the pro-slavery group; we watch them clash over the fate of a slave smuggled out over the underground railway; we witness the early efforts of women to achieve both suffrage and dignity; and finally we are deeply involved in the irreconcilable conflict which ended in one of the greatest acts of liberation in history. I submit that this is quite a book-ful and that the reviewers in suppressing or neglecting it are lagging far be-

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hind the theater and the common man.

Produced by John C. Wilson in association with Nat Goldstone, *Bloomer Girl* is for the most part highly entertaining and a joy to watch. True that too often Harold Arlen's music is reminiscent, that the voices are rather more pleasant than distinctive, that some of Lemuel Ayres' sets are too cluttered for pictorial beauty and acting space. But on the sprightlier side are the gay performances of Celeste Holm and David Brooks as lovers parted by their differing attitudes toward the escaped slave and then brought together by the shot at Fort Sumter; the lively comedy singing and dancing of Nancy McCracken (especially in that hilarious little number, "T'morra' T'morra' "); the sharp, witty worldliness of the fighting suffragette and abolitionist, Dolly Bloomer, as played by Margaret Douglas; and the beautiful and stirring freedom songs, sung by Dooley Wilson and Richard Huey, which stopped the show and demonstrated that at least the audience if not the reviewers knew what was central to the entire evening.

For me, there were two other high spots: both of them, I felt, bits of near perfection in the theater—one of them superb and never to be forgotten. Slimmer of the two was the charmingly set and sustained scene depicting Sunday in Cicero Falls which, without pretending to be a ballet, was nevertheless a ballet in composition to a delicious song, pious in tune, vastly impious in content.

The other was the deeply-felt, dream-like Civil War ballet set against a far-flung landscape dramatically rent by an ancient battle-riven tree. The dance begins with women only. Whether singly or in small groups, they move with the most poignant suggestion of woman-loneliness, of abstraction in sorrow, of space almost unbridgeable between them. As this phase reaches fullness of expression, the light of a new day suffuses their spirit with hope: and there, coming toward them, are their own heroic war-weary men. There is the diffident, timid salutation of stranger touching stranger, the abstract movement which gradually accustoms man and wife to one another, and the beginning of the folk-dance which moves with wonderful timing through somberness to joy. Threading the reunion is the woman whose man will never return, who seeks him vainly, and finally transmutes her personal grief into the great pride of sacrifice for a cause worthy beyond the instant.

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The principals in this beautiful ballet created by Agnes deMille are Betty Low, Lidija Franklin, and James Mitchell. My many thanks to Miss deMille and to all her company.

The costumes in the show were designed by Miles White and are, for the most part, hugely entertaining. The entire production was staged by its lyricist, E. Y. Harburg. Don't miss it.

"MEN TO THE SEA," staged by Eddie Dowling in settings by Howard Bay, is a serious drama of what happens to Navy wives in the long intervals of their men's absence. Though for the most part interesting and often moving in its depiction of relationships, it too closely follows the narrow beam of sexual privation to have any genuine significance. The writing is often on too conscious a plane of literariness, with the result that the one man who should have come most to life in the play is not real enough to touch us even in the moment of his death. The direction is also uneven in quality, ranging through sensitiveness to the awkward staging of the first scene between Hazel and her sailor and the distressing ugliness of the Christmas bacchanal.

The real trouble, however, is that for seven of its eight scenes the play shuttles equally among its four couples, without sufficiently defining any one of its characters. Indeed it does not discover its center until the last scene, when it finally comes into its own with the focus on the very real and tragic situation existing between Hazel, who is about to have a baby by another man, and her husband, who must finally forgive her in order to be able to respect himself. Had the story of this couple been in constant focus, we might have had a very good play instead of a series of vignettes struggling to hold together.

The performances were competent in quality, the most interesting being given by Maggie Gould and Michael Strong, as the problem couple. Toni Gilman, playing Cristobel to Randolph Echols' mystically written Duckworth, did sympathetically until the author plunged her into a psychotic snarl one could not believe without due dramatic preparation. The Negro couple, whose common sense to disconcerted Mr. Barnes—probably because they were so naturally acceptable to their white friends—were played with dignity and warmth by Mildred Smith and Maurice Ellis. Summing up, Dave Wolper has produced a play of mixed merit, but still worth seeing.

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Again this year on the occasion of the 27th birthday of the Soviet Union, Americans will pay their tribute to an ally whose friendship and devotion to our common cause is one of the brightest hopes for a permanently victorious postwar world. The theme of the meeting to take place at Madison Square Garden, Thursday, Nov. 16 at 7:30 p.m. will be "U.S.A.—U.S.S.R., Allies for Victory, Prosperity and Peace." Leaders of the United Nations will speak, stage and screen stars will entertain.

You can buy your tickets now ($2.40, $1.80, $1.20, $.85 and $.60) at book stores, trade unions and at the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Please order your ticket early.

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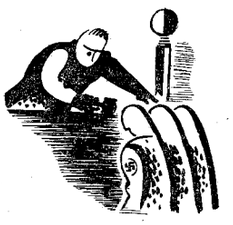

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